

#MoreInCommon
community events
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Pegida hits
the rocks
INVESTIGATION p34

A new chapter
for Luton?
HOME NEWS p30



HOPE not hate

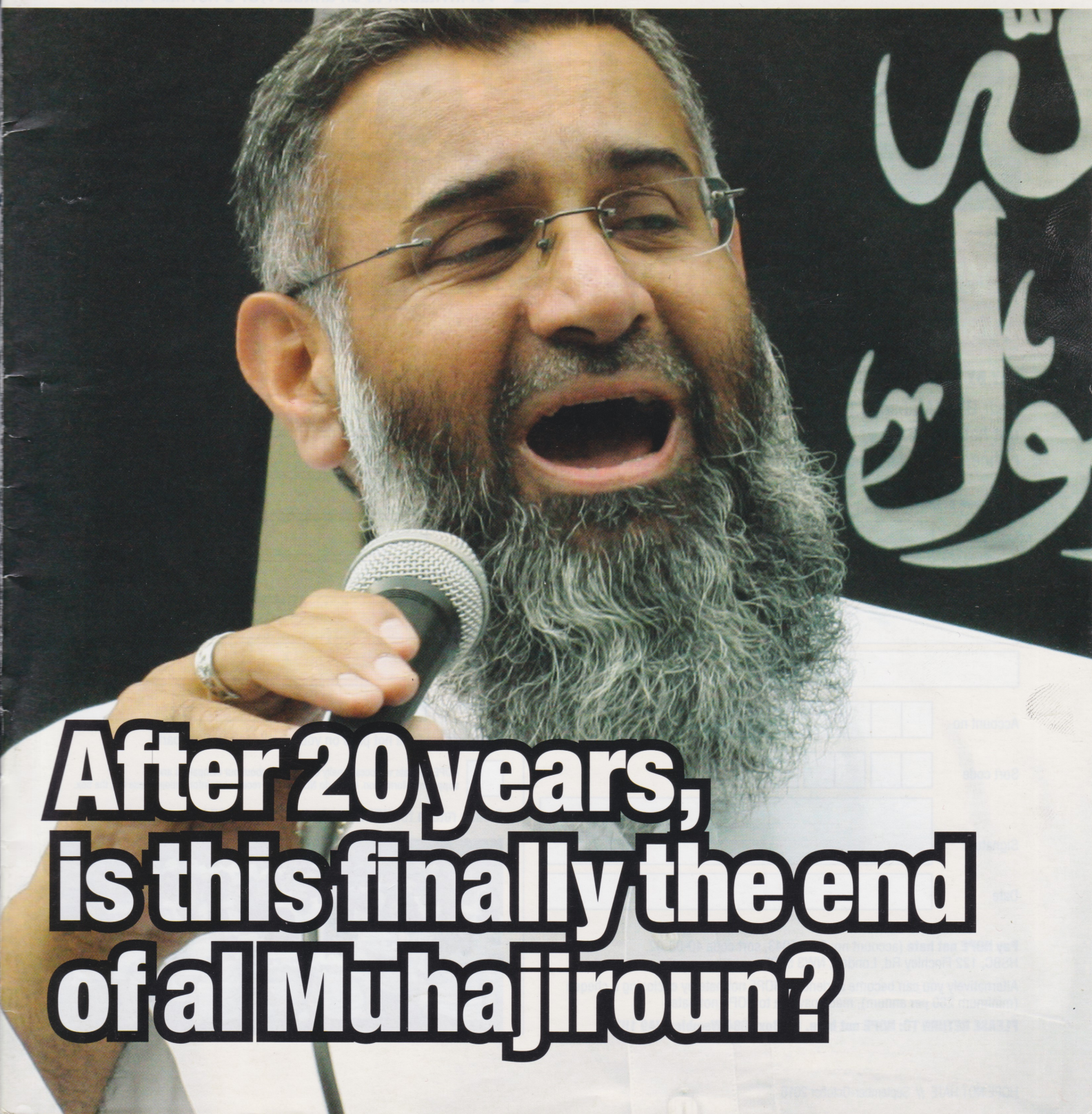
Providing a
positive antidote to
hate and intolerance

Sep-Oct 2016

Issue no. 27 Price £3.50



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is this finally the end
of al Muhajiroun?**

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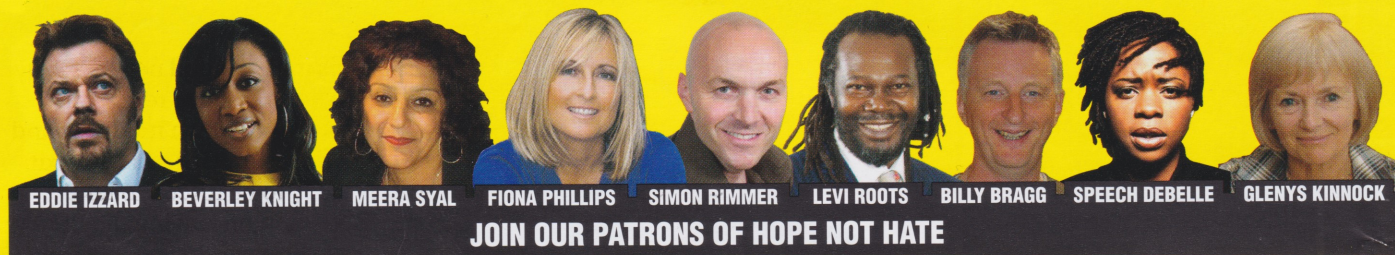


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HOPE not hate

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anti-racist publication

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to combat them.

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Nick Lowles

EDITOR

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#MoreInCommon

Much of this magazine is dedicated to the #MoreInCommon initiative we ran in recent weeks to bring divided communities together following the European Union (EU) referendum vote and racist backlash that followed it.

Initiatives like the football event in Merthyr Tydfil, which saw over 1,000 people watch a match between the local team and a team of Polish and Portuguese migrants, and the food festival in the centre of Rotherham, which was attended by over 350 people, testify to HOPE not hate's work and ethos. Working in the most divided communities, we aim to bring people together around what they have in common and find more positive and constructive ways to deal with our differences.

Of course, #MoreInCommon events will not change everything on their own but they are a positive way of engaging local communities, bringing people together and winning their trust. With the door opened and local people willing to at least hear us out, the hard work begins.

POLITICS IN FLUX

We are living in uncertain times. As the new Theresa May government grapples with the reality of Brexit, her Labour opposition is divided and looking for identity and purpose. As we go to print, Labour seems almost certain to re-elect Jeremy Corbyn but the tough challenge of reconnecting with working class communities is only beginning.

UKIP, meanwhile, has a new leader but the party – in the short term at least – will struggle to find relevance and purpose now the country has voted to leave the EU.

While this may be good news for May, she is going to struggle to rein in the views of many of her own ministers and MPs who are pushing for a hard Brexit.

May is likely to be forced to take a harder position on leaving the EU than she might have chosen and this is likely to include Britain leaving the Single Market altogether and opting for a free trade approach towards future arrangements.

A consequence of this could be the drawn-out death of British manufacturing as there will be no protection against cheap imports and a further loosening of our employment rights and health and safety regulations at work to try to make British goods more competitive and slash costs.

This reality of Brexit could well lead to a backlash from those very communities who voted most strongly to leave but are now most likely to be hit hardest by its consequences.

FINALLY

After 20 years and hundreds, possibly thousands, of lives ruined, hate preacher Anjem Choudary is finally behind bars. There is a certain irony that Choudary was finally convicted for putting his name to a declaration of allegiance to the Islamic State when it was actually added by supporters in Indonesia.

Having been so careful to avoid prosecution over the years, Choudary found himself well and truly cornered when presented with this declaration by his Indonesian friends. He knew that it opened him up for prosecution but to disavow it would have destroyed his credibility amongst his supporters.

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INVESTIGATION: THE RISE AND DECLINE OF AL-MUHAJIROUN UK



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CONTRIBUTORS



PETER ADAMS

Peter Adams and Rehana Faisal discuss how Luton can move on from its image as the home of British extremism



SARAH KHAN

Sara Khan, Director of Inspire, writes an open letter challenging the left to take on Islamism



ROS EREIRA

Ros Ereira, head of Solidarity with Refugees, calls on the British Government to do more to help refugees

HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 150,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

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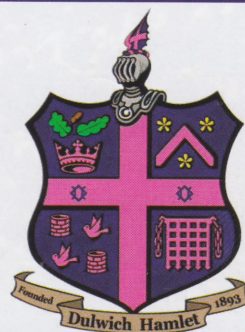
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HOPEcamp 2016 a roaring success



Over 200 people attended the HOPE not hate fringe meeting on Reclaiming Working Class Communities back from UKIP at the Labour Party conference in Liverpool last month.

John Page reports

HOPEcamp is HOPE not hate's prime training event and it is growing every year.

In September, over 90 people attended a four-day residential training session that explored the state of hate and provided training in organising techniques (power mapping, strategic choices, coalition building and campaign planning).

We also worked on how to engage with faith communities and planned activity round HOPE not hate's future campaigns. Though hard work, it was rewarding and a lot of fun. The group attending was very diverse, ranging from students to pensioners and including refugees whose insights enriched our learning.

We introduced a new session this year on how to engage with racists. Aware that not everyone who holds racist views is our enemy, we need to practice effective ways to tackle them.

We are also aware that people are not necessarily convinced by "myth busting" or us knowing more about the subject than they do given that we all tend

to accept information that reinforces our own view of things and reject information that conflicts with it.

The approach we explored, thus, was a combination of listening carefully to find what the real underlying concerns are and exploring with people their different views to encourage re-evaluation.

This training segment was a huge success, with one participant even successfully practising the technique on a person with racist views on the train home.

Participant feedback, was incredibly positive as just one example demonstrates: "Thank you all for an amazing HOPEcamp! I have learned so much and feel so inspired by all the facilitators and everyone I met doing wonderful work out there in the community, thank you everyone for your warmth, passion and inspiration."

Plans are now in place for shorter regional HOPEcamps. If you wish to know more about our training programme, e-mail dawn@hopenothate.org.uk

Charity Begins.

WHILE THE REFERENDUM campaign has unleashed divisions, many people have responded with an outpouring of offers to support our work and spread the message of hope around the UK.

We've had people taking on sponsored bike rides, charity runs, swims and other challenges for our benefit as well as gigs, theatre shows and thousands coming along to our #MoreInCommon events. We've seen just how much the message of hope can resonate with people, many of whom have never come across our work before.

Shortly after Labour MP Jo Cox was murdered, there was the mother on Mumsnet who offered to knit blankets for Jo's children. Then, thousands rallied to our #MoreInCommon, raising money, awareness and celebrating the very best that their communities had to offer.

In Norfolk, the New Eye Theatre Company put on a play and donated £500 from the night's performance. Our very own John Page swam for five hours in Coniston Lake, in Cumbria, with his partner, to raise a similar amount.

John said: "Physically, I feel wrecked! My arms are aching, but mentally, I feel very good. After the first two miles it became a test of endurance and the last mile was particularly difficult. But I just stayed in the frame of mind that I was going to finish.

"I don't think there is a better cause to support. The work we do in communities is essential to stopping those who seek



.. Everywhere!

to spread division and hatred, and our research team are worth their weight in gold. By getting inside the mind of the far right, we are able to minimise a lot of attempts to exploit people's fears."

In June, there was a gig in Cornwall that donated everything raised on the night to HOPE not hate and, then, a designer made us a "Chill the Fuck Out" T-shirt, again donating all proceeds to our charity.

Cyclists took to the #JoCoxWay, cycling from Birstall & Spen to London in Jo's name, with all profits from the ride coming to us. Meanwhile, Nick Elverston and his brother toured the battlefields of Normandy in under 27 hours to ensure we received £1,500.

The iconic Safari Festival, promoting talent in the comics and graphic arts fields, teamed up with us this year to support and present our work, while September was topped off by the massive Libertines gig at the Brixton Academy, as part of the new Unity Rocks initiative.

Libertines drummer, Gary Powell, said: "The idea of 'Unity Rocks' is to bring people together, regardless of their creed, colour, religion or whether they voted Brexit or not. This is not about politics or politicians, it's about unifying as a nation and working to make a united, more tolerant Britain."

With a further UNITY gig planned in east London in September, things thankfully show no sign of slowing down.



Cardiff restaurateur moved by support from HOPE not hate



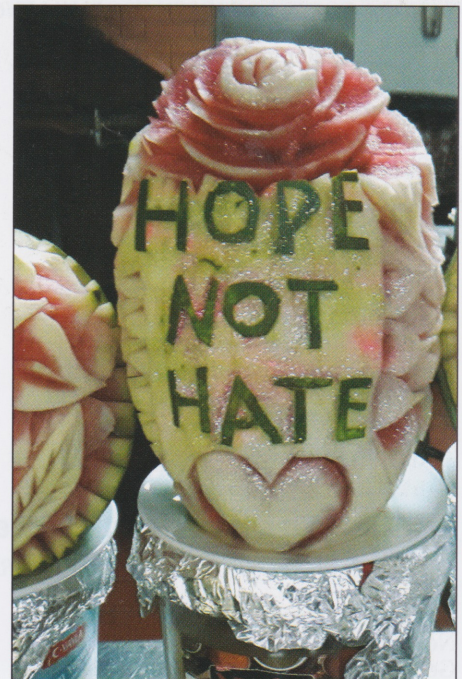
Tom Godwin reports

AFTER A successful HOPE not hate (Hnh) meeting in Cardiff recently, we were discussing a local story about a popular (and award-winning) local restaurant being forced to close because its co-owner and chef, Faruk Yavuzel, had been refused extension of his visa and was set to be deported.

Some of us had eaten at the restaurant – Oz Urfa – at various times before. It is a lovely little place and, as we had already been talking about having a HOPE not hate social for everyone involved in the group, we decided that we would have an Oz Urfa Solidarity Dinner. Our aim was to show local support for Faruk by booking the entire restaurant and generating some further media coverage while eating some of the best Mediterranean & Mesopotamian food in Cardiff.

We contacted *WalesOnline* to do a report, packed the place out, had some great food and were treated to some traditional singing from a visibly moved Faruk. The *Daily Mirror* picked up the follow-up piece on *WalesOnline* and our local petition had nearly 1,000 signatures by the end of the next day.

Following advice from our local MP, the restaurant is staying open for the time being, and we are encouraging



people from the community to show their support. It remains to be seen whether this will be enough to make the Home Office reconsider deporting Faruk and closing a successful and well-supported local business.

■ Tom Godwin is HOPE not hate's organiser in Wales he can be contacted at tom@hopenothate.org.uk

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/ scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Analysis: Pegida hits the rocks, p34



AUSTRIA | Hate crime rise sparks demand for new counter-approaches

FROM MARTIN JORDAN IN VIENNA

THE AUSTRIAN security agency has registered an increase of more than 50% in right-wing extremist and racially motivated crimes, with 1,156 registered crimes in 2015 compared with 750 in 2014. The number of hate crimes has been growing since 2005 (209 registered hate crimes then) but the situation worsened in 2014 and escalated in 2015 at the peak of the European refugee crisis. Most notable is the rise in violent attacks against refugee shelters, hate speech and incitement to violence and other criminal offences. In the same period, the number of registered left-wing extremist crimes has dropped almost 50% from 371 (2014) to 186 (2015). In contrast to the far right, the crimes registered under "left-wing extremism" are not dominated by violent crimes but result from convictions for blocking far right events and obstructing or resisting police officers.

There is also increasing evidence of a high number of unreported cases of racially motivated assaults. This was brought home by NGOs and also the Green Party which investigated a number of cases that were wrongly registered and did not appear in the official statistics. The security authorities are being criticised for not prosecuting sufficiently, an encouragement to future perpetrators.

Both NGOs and the security authorities, are struggling to find new and practicable counter-approaches to the rise in hate crimes and particularly the eruption of incitement on the internet. NGOs have responded with newly-launched online registration offices that document and monitor hate crimes and hate speech online and offline. The authorities want to improve their registration and monitoring systems and plan an online campaign against internet hate speech.

SPAIN | Prosecutor orders nazi bookshop closure in Barcelona

SANDRA CORTÉS REPORTS FROM VALÈNCIA FOR ANTIFEIXISTES.ORG

IN JULY, Catalan police closed the nazi bookshop *La librería Europa* in Barcelona and arrested four members of its *Ojeda* publishing firm. The bookstore's owner, the long-term nazi, Pedro Varela, fled but gave himself up a few days later. After paying €30,000 bail, he was released pending trial. The bookshop, open since 1992, was Europe's largest centre for distribution of Holocaust denial and Nazi propaganda literature, hosting conferences each year of such important leaders of the far right as David Duke, the now dead Manfred Roeder and David Irving.

In 1996, a Spanish court sentenced

Varela to seven months in jail. In 2006, he was again arrested for spreading genocidal ideas and sentenced to fifteen months in prison. Now, after reform of the Penal Code in 2015, Holocaust denial itself is a criminal offence and the city of Barcelona has already announced that the Varela's business will be shut down for good. Varela is nothing if not persistent.

At only 17-years-old, he was president of the largest – and internationally most infamous – nazi organization in Spanish history: CEDADE (the Spanish Circle of Friends of Europe), which was advised by top Nazi refugees like SS war criminal Leon Degrelle.

BELGIUM | Flemish Defence League facing prosecution

FROM WIM HAELESTERMAN FOR AFF/VERZET – RÉSISTANCES IN BRUSSELS

THE FLEMISH political world, including New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) premier Geert Bourgeois, has vented its disgust after racists on social media welcomed the tragic death of a boy of Moroccan descent. The 15-year-old from Genk died in a quad bike accident while on holiday in Morocco. Sven Gatz, the Flemish media minister, said: "Those welcoming the boy's death, are sick and should receive psychological help" while Flemish asylum secretary Theo Francken issued a similar statement. Fortunately, there were also many expressions of support for the boy's family and friends.

The outburst of racist ranting was sparked off by the so-called "Vlaamse Verdedigingsliga" (VVL – Flemish Defence League). This so-called "league" is no more than an obscure racist group that has only a handful of activists. The self-declared Flemish copy of the "English Defence League" is

led by Gunther Vleminx from Antwerp, an obsessive who shows up at every Pegida-style demo. The group may be insignificant – even in the murky Flemish far right/nationalist world – but, at the same time, it has a page on Facebook where 23,000 "fans" seem to appreciate the corrosive racist claptrap distributed on a regular basis by Vleminx and his small coterie of pals.

Posting racist statements on social media is illegal in Belgium but rarely leads to legal proceedings. On 4 August, however, the VVL account that displayed such slogans such as "For Flanders and For Flemings" and "Against migration, Islamisation and terrorism" was shut down. A few days later, Flemish media reported that the VVL would be prosecuted for racism in the autumn. The prosecutor's office in Antwerp has decided to sue the racist gang not because of the recent scandal but for previous violations of the Belgian laws.

EUROPE | Europa Terra Nostra rings changes

BY ULLI JENTSCH FOR APABIZ IN BERLIN

EUROPA TERRA NOSTRA (ETN), the front foundation of the pan-European nazi Alliance for Peace and Freedom (APF), has changed its leadership.

According to official records, Konstantinos Boviatsos, a member of the Greek Golden Dawn, has been co-leading ETN together with veteran Swedish nazi Dan Eriksson since June 2016. Boviatsos works as an assistant to Greek MEP Giorgios Epitideios from Golden Dawn. Further members of the board are from Germany, Italy and Spain.



Pedro Varela

GREECE | UN lashes Greece for not

FROM PANAYOTE DIMITRAS FOR GREEK HE

"WHAT WAS Greece doing to ensure the application of the [International] Convention [on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination – ICERD] in the case of Golden Dawn, namely to declare it illegal?" asked Country Rapporteur for Greece, Nicolas Marugan, during a review of the implementation of ICERD, on 3 and 4 August 2016, by the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. CERD had expressly recommended, in 2009, the banning of nazi organizations by Greece, whose delegation at that review had unabashedly claimed there were no such organisations in the country!

In April this year, it was publicly revealed by the Swedish anti-fascist project EXPO that ETN had received EU grants for a conference in Stockholm. The European Parliament confirmed that ETN received €197,625 and the APF another €400,000 in 2016. Three members of Golden Dawn and the German nazi National Democratic Party member Udo Voigt represent the APF in the European Parliament. Led by the notorious convicted Italian terrorist Roberto Fiore, the APF also has members from the UK and Sweden, Czechia, France and Denmark.

Although closely tied to Brussels, ETN is still located in Berlin but has moved away from the NPD's shabby headquarters to a more respectable home on Berlin's upmarket Kurfürstendamm.

Gábor Vona



CZECHIA | Islamophobes stage bogus Islamist invasion of Prague

SOURCE: BLISTY.CZ

MARKING THE 48th anniversary of the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia, which took place on 21 August 1968, Czech Islamophobic activists from the Martin Konvička Initiative tried to stage a spoof Islamic State "invasion" at the Old Town Square in Prague. They arrived in military vehicles, disguised as Arabs and wielding "airsoft" weapons, replica machine guns and Islamic State flags. When they started shooting, this produced panic among passers-by, mostly foreign visitors, and several people were hurt.

Czech Islamophobes see all Muslims as terrorists and do not distinguish between ordinary Muslims and

Islamic State fighters. They also see all refugees as potential terrorists.

Prior to the stunt, Czech police had inspected the replica guns and found them acceptable, but when panic broke out, Prague local authority officials cancelled the event. Miroslav Adamec, the Martin Konvička Initiative spokesperson, said the event was to remind people of "what is a daily happening several thousand kilometres from here and is now coming even to us, in Central and Western Europe."

Czech police are now assessing whether the event infringed the law and whether it can be classified under the offence of disseminating alarmist news.

HUNGARY | Hungary to vote on refugee policy

FROM ISTVÁN TÓTH IN BUDAPEST

HUNGARY WILL stage a referendum on 2 October 2016 on whether to accept any future European Union (EU) quota system for resettling migrants as prime minister Viktor Orbán's government steps up its fight against the EU's migration policies. Orbán took a hardline anti-immigration stance during the 2015 migrant influx to Europe, Hungary being the main entry point into the Schengen zone for migrants travelling by land until his government built fences at the Croatian and Serbian frontiers. According to the fascist Jobbik's chief, Gábor Vona, all Hungarians should participate in the quota referendum and vote "no".

Vona explained his party's position on the quota referendum in a panel

discussion on 13 August 2016, organised by the Transylvanian Hungarian Youth Association (EMI) at Gyergyószentmiklós, claiming that in similar national issues like this we should transcend party political considerations and warning: "if the participation in the referendum is invalid, the result will become a weapon in the hands of Brussels against the Hungarian government's position".

Vona claimed that the left parties' calls for a boycott of the referendum are tantamount to treason and that, amid the current crisis, only rearguard battles have been taking place in Western Europe but Eastern Europe can decide whether it wants multiculturalism.

ITALY | Region outlaws fascist kitsch

FROM LUCA ORFEO IN TURIN

THE EMILIA-ROMAGNA Regional Parliament took a decision of great symbolic value at the beginning of August: finally, to ban fascist and Nazi souvenirs.

The facts: right after the end of WWII, Italy struggled to rationalise (or hide under the carpet) its fascist past. One of the strongest instruments against the rebuilding of a Fascist Party was the Italian Constitution (reinforced by several later laws), which clearly declared "apology for Fascism" a crime.

Over time, the law has slowly lost its symbolic value while, especially in the last two decades, a new wave of fascism has raised its head, through countless groups on social networks, new fascist parties and public initiatives. And, since they must raise finance, touting tourism and gadgets.

Predappio, especially, the city

in Emilia-Romagna where Benito Mussolini was born and is buried, has become over the years an important tourist destination with a strong and flourishing souvenir industry hawking mugs, dishes, T-shirts, lighters, wine and much other junk bearing Mussolini's face, quotations from him or fascist symbols.

This went on until last month, when the left-wing parties in parliament passed a law extending the ban on "apology for Fascism" to gadgets and souvenirs with the (not-so) secondary aim of cutting off revenue from their sale.

Whether and how much the new law will actually be effective is a good question in a country which is motionlessly tolerating the rise (in public debate and politics) of practices and slogans clearly derived from the so-called *Ventennio*, the two decades of fascist rule.

Golden Dawn

SINKI MONITOR IN ATHENS

This time, Greece replied that "after the dictatorship, it had been of utmost importance to Greece to protect political freedoms as a constituent element of democracy and not to allow declaring illegal and prohibiting political parties. Nevertheless, there were guarantees in place which ensured the protection of democracy and society from criminal activities by political parties and its members, and those guarantees had been applied in the case of Golden Dawn."

CERD experts were evidently not satisfied by the reply and this will be indicated in the concluding observations and recommendations for Greece scheduled for the end of August.

ARGENTINA | Pupils wearing Nazi armbands assault young Jews

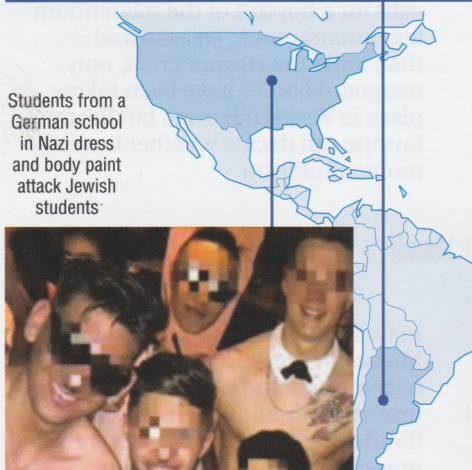
SOURCES: VARIOUS

CHILDREN FROM a German school in Buenos Aires wearing swastika armbands and fake Hitler moustaches attacked Jewish pupils in a resort where several Nazi war criminals lived after the Second World War, including Dr. Josef Mengele, Auschwitz's "Angel of Death."

The incident quickly drew sharp condemnation of the pupils and the parents accompanying them during the school's trip to San Carlos de Bariloche, in the Andes, a town that became a haven for Nazis fleeing Europe after the war.

"We wanted them to be thrown out of the club but they shouted 'f— Jews' at us and proudly showed off their symbols," said one witness. According to other witnesses, pupils from the Lanus German School arrived at a party in a nightclub dressed as Nazis: "Some of them were in leathers with swastikas painted on their chests and backs."

When the club refused to eject the pupils in Nazi dress, there was a "confrontation" that turned into a fight. Silvia Fazio, the principal of the Lanus German School has apologised, saying the incident was "absolutely indefensible" and that "they will have to make some act of atonement for the damage caused," starting with a visit to Buenos Aires' Holocaust museum alongside students from the Jewish school. She stressed that the trip to San Carlos de Bariloche was not organised by the school but arranged privately.



Students from a German school in Nazi dress and body paint attack Jewish students

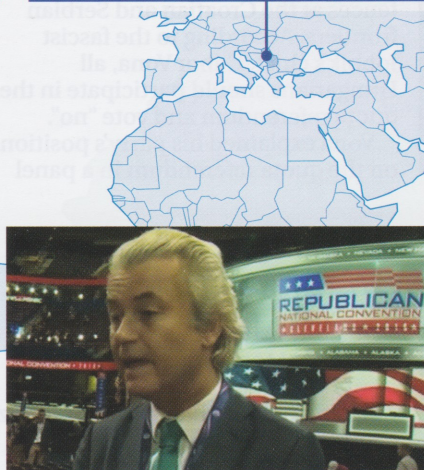
SERBIA | Fascists abuse commemoration

DAŠKO MILINOVIĆ IN NOVI SAD

A LONG quiet summer came as the extension of an unusually long period of confusion and inactivity from the Serbian extreme right. Such a lengthy period of lethargy at all levels of fascist activity has not been recorded since the early 1990s. Not to allow the summer to pass completely without incident, however, Srpska Akcija (SA) nazis staged a street event in Belgrade to commemorate the 21st anniversary of Operation Storm (Oluja) – the capture of Serbian-ruled parts of Croatia by the Croatian army.

The operation was a complete and swift military success followed by numerous war crimes, all against unarmed civilians, mostly old people who had not fled the area. More than 200,000 Serbs were banished from their homes. Storm is seen as a criminal operation by the official Serbian state and is commemorated annually, August being reserved for stirring up nationalist emotions and all of the Serbian right actively taking part.

While state events are mostly about refugees and pointing fingers at the Croatian state, fascist events are gatherings of those bent on revenge and calling for war against Croatia. SA organises these events that take place around the university in central Belgrade. Notorious fascists were seen this year too but the turnout was well below expectations.

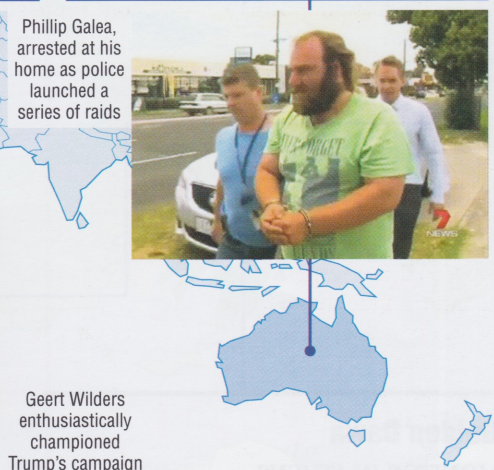


AUSTRALIA | Far right extremist suffering from hallucinations

SYDNEY MORNING HERALD

PHILLIP GALEA, a far right extremist charged with terrorism offences says he is suffering from hallucinations from the stun grenade thrown at him before he was arrested. Galea, a member of the anti-immigration group Reclaim Australia, is the first right-wing extremist to be charged under Australia's anti-terror laws. In particular, he is charged with intentionally collecting and creating documents connected with the preparation of a terrorist attack in Melbourne between 19 November 2015 and 6 August this year and intentionally committing acts in preparation for a terrorist act in Melbourne between 20 September 2015 and 6 August.

Police Special Operations Group members arrested Galea on 6 August. He is being held on remand in Melbourne after being refused bail, appearing at a hearing via video link in a white T-shirt with a thick beard and long dark hair draped over his shoulders. At a previous appearance he told the court the terror charges against him were "a conspiracy against the patriot movement". A committal date will be set to give the Australian Federal Police time to sift through "a large volume" of electronic and telephone intercept material. Some of the phone calls under investigation lasted three hours.



Phillip Galea, arrested at his home as police launched a series of raids

Geert Wilders enthusiastically championed Trump's campaign

USA | White nationalists, anti-Muslim extremists attend Republican convention

FROM THE CENTRE FOR NEW COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

BOTH CONTENDING US political parties have held their national conventions and finally formalised their nominees for November's presidential election. A number of notable white nationalists and anti-Muslim extremists walked Cleveland's streets while the Republican Party officially made Donald Trump its candidate.

One night, activists organised an event featuring speeches from Pamela Geller and the Dutch extremist Geert Wilders who both enthusiastically

championed Trump's campaign.

Prominent white nationalists, Richard Spencer and Peter Brimelow, were also present, fielding media inquiries about their support for Trump.

The following week, the Democrats made Hillary Clinton their nominee for president. And, while (former) President Bill Clinton disturbingly suggested Muslims must prove their loyalty to the United States, Trump remained in the media spotlight for publicly attacking a Muslim family whose son died while

serving in Iraq.

With fewer than 100 days before the election, an end to the exhaustive, nearly two-year, presidential campaign is in sight. While both candidates stomp the country, the prejudice espoused by both campaigns – no matter how subtle – needs to be challenged. Above all, regardless of political affiliations, voters must come together and organise a powerful voice against hate and division in all forms, both this November and beyond.

Bridging the gulf

Nick Lowles examines the task Jeremy Corbyn's Labour Party has in winning over UKIP voters at a time when the Labour Party is becoming ever more liberal and relaxed with immigration and multiculturalism.

THE MATHS IS CLEAR.

Labour needs a swing of 10.5% to win the next General Election. And if this unprecedented swing was not big enough, it will face the additional hurdle of boundary changes that will see Labour lose an estimated 24 of the seats it currently holds as the number of constituencies is slashed from 650 to 600.

Jeremy Corbyn's re-election as party leader and the huge influx of new members into the Labour Party should mean that a significant number of people who voted Green in 2015 will switch allegiance next time. But even if every single 2015 Green vote transferred, it has been estimated that this would give Labour just seven additional seats.

The party will need to look elsewhere and this means attracting a significant number of the four million votes UKIP secured, something it has so far been unable to do.

So can Labour keep its increasingly liberal and multiculturalist outlook while also appealing to voters who oppose immigration and multiculturalism?

The end of UKIP?

Some commentators have begun to write off UKIP. With the EU referendum delivering its key stated objective, Farage having stood down as leader, the party bitterly divided and some funders and members switching allegiance to the Conservatives, it would appear UKIP is in trouble.

It would be too hasty to write off UKIP or a

reincarnation under a new name. Its supporters – especially its working class supporters – are more resilient and loyal to the party than some think and the conditions for resurgence are on the horizon.

But even if UKIP does disappear there is no reason to suggest that many of its working class voters would return to Labour. And this is because the political and cultural gap between Labour and UKIP supporters is vast and, if anything, getting bigger.

Over the last five years, HOPE not hate has carried out three studies exploring attitudes to identity, race, faith and belonging. Our research has enabled us to break down society into six tribes, two positive about immigration and multiculturalism, two strongly opposed and two in the middle.

From our research, the size of Labour's job is enormous. As our table shows, there is a huge gulf between the views of UKIP and Labour supporters.

UKIP supporters are three times more likely to believe that immigration has been bad for their area than Labour voters. In fact, only 3% of UKIP voters believe immigration has improved their local community, compared with 30% of Labour voters.

Over a quarter of UKIP voters want to halt immigration to the UK permanently, compared with 6% of Labour voters, and three times as many UKIP

voters believe Muslims cause trouble in the UK.

The gulf is even starker when we compare UKIP voters with the most liberal of our six identity tribes (Confident Multiculturalists), which now makes up 28% of Labour voters.

When asked if immigration had been good for the UK, 94% of Confident Multiculturalists agreed. This compares to just 2% of the Active Emnity group that is most closely identified with UKIP.

The gulf between Labour and UKIP voters is widening, making it even harder for the party to win over UKIP supporters. In 2011, 28% of Labour supporters were drawn from the two tribes that were most positive about immigration and multiculturalism. Now, after the referendum, this has risen to 49%.

That of course has a knock-on effect on party policy and political outlook. While Labour is becoming more liberal and tolerant, many working class voters are going in the opposite direction. In 2011, 31% of C2s (Skilled working class) belonged to the two tribes most hostile to immigration and multiculturalism. By 2016 this had risen to 35%.

It is perhaps not surprising that almost as many C2s identify with UKIP as they do Labour.

Early indications are that the Referendum campaign has further ruptured the relationship between Labour and its working class supporters. Internal Labour Party polling, taken in the

immediate aftermath of the Referendum vote, concluded that a third of working class voters who backed Labour in 2015 would refuse to vote for them again.

The gulf between UKIP voters and Labour is as much cultural as it is political and that is why a simple economic argument is unlikely to cut it with these voters.

Indeed, while Labour's economic policies should be attractive in the communities where UKIP is drawing most of its support, the party is struggling to get its message heard because voters are dismissing Labour from the outset.

This is most noticeable in those communities which have experienced the greatest sense of loss of identity over the past 30 years, in particular the one-industry towns where the workplace around which the community was built has long gone.

The combination of a loss of identity, economic hardship, austerity and the social conservatism of some working class communities means that many voters prefer UKIP's nationalist and populist message to Labour's increasingly metropolitan and multicultural outlook.

If all this was not bad enough, Labour's problems could get a whole lot worse as the true impact of Brexit bites.

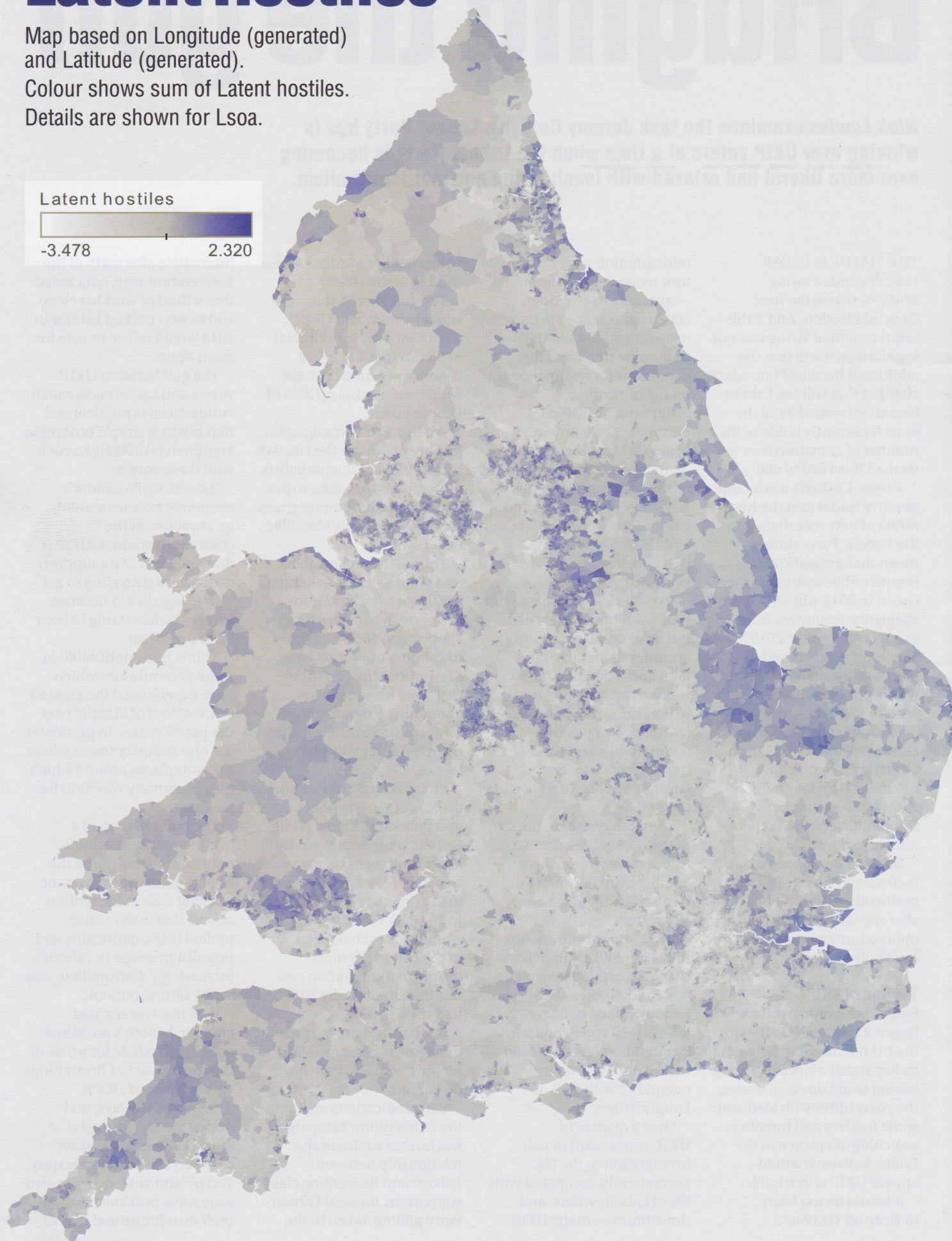
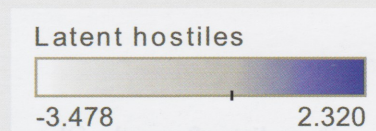
Our *Fear and HOPE* research has always, and perhaps unsurprisingly, found a direct correlation between economic insecurity and pessimism. So, those who were most pessimistic about their own future and that of

Latent Hostiles

Map based on Longitude (generated)
and Latitude (generated).

Colour shows sum of Latent hostiles.

Details are shown for Lsoa.



UKIP VS LABOUR:

| | UKIP voters | Labour voters |
|--|-------------|---------------|
| Arrival of immigrants has changed my local community for the worse | 58% | 17% |
| Arrival of immigrants has changed my local community for the better | 3% | 30% |
| I don't think new immigrants want to integrate | 82% | 31% |
| Stop all immigration permanently | 28% | 6% |
| Stop immigration until the economy improves | 13% | 7% |
| Only allow in skilled immigrants who help the economy | 47% | 33% |
| Only allow in skilled and unskilled immigrants who will help the economy | 12% | 35% |
| Allow in all types of immigration | 0% | 19% |
| Muslims cause problems in the UK | 67% | 26% |
| New immigration puts my job at risk | 24% | 11% |
| New immigrants make it harder to get a fair wage for the work I do | 46% | 25% |
| New immigrants put added pressure on public services like schools and hospitals | 95% | 61% |
| New immigrants add richness and variety to the culture of Britain | 7% | 52% |
| Many organisations, including public sector, couldn't cope without immigrants | 24% | 52% |
| A new political party is going to be set up which claims it wants to defend the English. Would you support it? YES | 86% | 29% |
| A new political party is going to be set up which claims it wants to defend the English. Would you support it? NO | 9% | 59% |

the country were more likely to oppose immigration and multiculturalism.

Our post-referendum polling shows a startling turnaround in attitudes. In our February *Fear and HOPE* survey, 69% of our Latent Hostile tribe and 68% of the Active Enmity tribe – the two groups – where UKIP attracts most of its support, felt pessimistic about the future. Now, 55% of Latent Hostiles think the economy will improve in the future (with just 16% believing it will get worse) and 49% of the Active Enmity group thinking the same (with 20% thinking things will get worse).

Conversely, 69% of Confident Multiculturalists and 68% of Mainstream Liberals, the two most pro-immigration segments, think the UK economy will worsen over the next few years (with only 10% and 14% respectively thinking it will get better). Back in February, 70% and 67% of these groups were optimistic about the future.

This remarkable optimism amongst the Latent Hostiles and Active Enmity groups is reflected in their belief that the British government will be more able to control immigration. 81% of Latent Hostiles and 83% of the Active Enmity tribe expect the government to be able to limit immigration, with just 2% and

5% respectively thinking the government will be less able to limit immigration and 17% and 12% believing leaving the EU will make no difference.

The growing optimism of Brexit voters is mirrored among UKIP supporters, of whom 42% believe that the economy will improve in the next 12 months, compared with just 18% of Labour voters.

This newfound optimism is likely to be short-lived as the reality of life outside the EU begins to bite. The demographic make-up of these two groups means that they are likely to be adversely affected by job losses – especially in areas of manufacturing industry – and any reduction in public spending as a result.

And when the penny drops these people are likely to get very angry and they will be susceptible to right-wing anti-establishment rhetoric – whether that is from UKIP or a new social movement that will soon be launched by UKIP funder, Aaron Banks.

UKIP and Banks are preparing to shout “betrayal” at the government for any compromise over negotiations with the EU and, in the process, ensuring that they are not held responsible for the decision to leave the EU.

And to make matters worse, it is the very communities

with the highest density of those opposing immigration and multiculturalism and that often voted most heavily for Brexit that will feel the most adverse impact of a hard Brexit.

One pound in every seven in the local Grimsby economy is generated through trade with the EU. In Stoke-on-Trent, this is £1 in every £12. A hard Brexit, curtailing of access to the Single Market, will have a disastrous impact on the local economies in many working class communities that are reliant on trade with the EU.

A downturn in the economy as a consequence of Brexit, especially in the old manufacturing sector and dependent communities, will only increase economic insecurity and likely lead to an increase in fear and then, if left unchallenged, hate.

Having highlighted the gulf in views and the likely increase in economic insecurity over the next two years, it is important to stress that all need not be lost. People's attitudes are fluid and can change but this will only happen if Labour alters its current approach.

Labour is confident that its economic policies will chime with disengaged communities that have suffered so much in recent years. However, this alone is unlikely to be enough, especially in the

face of a rampant right-wing media which will take every opportunity to remind voters of Corbyn's views on open borders, abolishing the monarchy, links to extremists, support for the IRA and nuclear disarmament.

To have any hope of success, Labour has to by-pass the media and re-engage directly with local communities, especially those that have felt the biggest sense of economic deprivation and cultural loss over the last 20 years. It needs to win back the trust of local people and prove it is once again on their side.

This means a dramatic shift in how it organises and how it relates to difficult and sometimes opposing views. It means listening to voters, understanding and addressing their fears and empowering people in local communities to make change themselves.

Clearly, Labour needs to set out policies to improve people's lives but it will only get a hearing if it can cut through the cultural divide to engage with people who are moving in a very different direction to the party without losing the more middle class, liberal support in the cities.

Only if it can do this, can it hope to offer people a more positive and constructive alternative to the politics of hate. ●

Taking HOPE to 'left

John Page on our need to analyse and address the problems of post-industrial or "left behind" communities

Something nasty happened during the European Union Referendum: for the first time in a very long time, mainstream politicians used race and racism for electoral advantage. In particular, Zac Goldsmith was guilty of manipulating fear of (and between) ethnic communities. In particular, his team raised fears of the security consequences of having a Muslim as London's mayor.

Voters across London, however, far from being attracted by his playing "the race card" flocked in the other direction and London became the first European city to elect a member of an ethnic minority community as its mayor. Our euphoria however was short-lived.

While there is undoubtedly legitimate political and economic argument about whether Britain should or should not be in the European Union (EU), the victory for Brexit in June was achieved by not just UKIP playing on the fear of refugees but by the official Leave campaign doing so as well. The campaign was accompanied with a dash of "two fingers to the establishment", "think of what we could do with the money we send to Europe", "taking back our sovereignty" and "we are tired of experts", it was the simple, false, racist propaganda that there are "too many immigrants" that seduced many people.

It is clear that this baleful tale of blame and fear was effective in delivering some disaffected white working class voters from post-industrial communities to the Brexit camp. Many voters in the still economically depressed former industrial areas, deserted their traditional political representative, the Labour Party often in the belief that Labour abandoned them long ago,

Not only was the Brexit argument false in the sense that economic devastation in Britain's former industrial heartlands has nothing to do with refugees or with "economic migrants", it was also false in the sense that no serious commentator believes it will be possible, in the forthcoming Brexit negotiations, to retain free trading access to the single

European market without granting free movement of labour.

Those who felt left behind in the former industrial heartlands have now been "sold a pup". Within two years, they will see that the government – the "Westminster elite" – has no intention of investing money in economic regeneration of their areas and no intention of halting immigration.

The risk is that if they already feel betrayed by Labour and feel further betrayed by the leaders of the Brexit campaign in the next couple of years, they might gravitate to the more extreme pedlars of division and hatred.

This is not just a UK problem. In Europe, the far right and right-wing populists are targeting some former industrial regions and, in the USA, Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump has garnered some support in former industrial communities that have lost their industries and where everyone knows the "good jobs" are not coming back.

Even before the EU Referendum, HOPE not hate had been working to analyse and address the problem of post-industrial or "left behind" communities. We have been working in some of these communities for years and know that the people living there are seldom hardcore racists but have lost faith in the future and have accepted the claims that "someone" (vaguely defined, but often including refugees, Muslims, and migrants) has to be to blame.

It seems to us that the problem goes back at least to the 1980s, when Thatcher introduced policies that devastated whole sections of industry from coal mining to steel works, from car plants to fishing and to the containerisation of our ports. Some of these changes were undoubtedly inevitable (the introduction of fishing quotas was a necessity, and containerisation was inevitable) meanwhile automation meant that many factory jobs, if they were not sent overseas where labour was cheaper were lost to advanced technology.

The problem is that there was

little serious effort by the state and government to support and sustain those communities that had to deal with the closure of large industrial plants or mines that were the centre of the many communities.

These communities often became afflicted by long-term unemployment, had youth unable to find work and, in some cases, were hit by the ravages of alcohol and drug addiction. Thirty years on, in some places nothing has changed. While the industrial jobs (which may have been hard) have gone, any new jobs tend to be in the service industry, catering, hospitality, and retail. They are invariably non-union, on minimum wage and often, even, on zero hours contracts

People in these communities are justifiably angry. However, as their sense of community identity as being from a mining town or village, a car town or as steel workers, trawlermen or dockers has dissipated, so their anger has sometimes found negative expression.

The Labour Party has often had very little to say about immigration. Whenever a spokesperson debating the Referendum was asked about it, it seemed as if they tried to change the subject to the NHS. You cannot win a debate that you choose not to participate in.

And so these communities have been left behind by the economy, they have been left behind by the trade union movement, and they have been left behind politically. Some would say they have been abandoned to their fate. It is not surprising that they respond by taking the opportunity of the Brexit vote to lash out.

Changing the story

The first thing we are going to do is a "listening campaign" to identify the issues that people really care about most immediately (the lack of good jobs, poor housing, education and their children's future, and health inequality, for example). We are going to be listening to people who currently see some of

'left behind' communities

Banksy in Boston: "Follow Your Dreams CANCELLED", Essex St, Chinatown, Boston
Photo: flickr.com/photos/rytc/



these issues through the distorted lens of immigration, suspicion of Muslim neighbours and resentment of asylum seekers. We will not be telling them they are racist, because we want them to express their views and then explore the real issues with them and, most importantly, what can be done to change the experience of living in their town.

While the anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant explanation of society's ills is inherently racist, it is important to recognise and acknowledge that there are complex factors that provide a basis of legitimate concern and genuine grievance about things that have been done by people who are either Muslim or purport to represent the Muslim community.

The racists shamelessly exploit these factors. For example, the wave of Jihadist terrorism and the various grooming scandals make it easier for racists to drive anti-Muslim prejudice. Meanwhile,

the arrival of migrant labour in areas of low skilled work has been accompanied by a fall in wage levels and adverse changes in the terms and conditions of employment by employers seeking to exploit a new and more vulnerable workforce.

Some of our activity will be simple, bringing people together to talk about what resources exist within the community and how they are allocated. And it will raise practical questions: can we organise unemployed people to run a fitness club in a local faith hall? Can we review what the local council and health service are spending money on, and can some of it be better spent? Can we persuade trade unions to organise workers in these towns? Will faith groups "turn outwards" and make their facilities available to the wider community?

Some of this will involve people

coming together to make change happen through collective self-organisation, other times we will be demanding changes in official policies to meet the needs of the community.

Getting started

We have already established networks in four initial target areas: Dudley, Rotherham, South Wales Valleys and Thurrock.

Our aim is that in a year or two in these areas while people will still say they are angry about their children's often substandard education, the pressures on the NHS, the lack of proper jobs, poor housing conditions etc, rather than blaming scapegoats, they will be saying, "we need to bring our *whole* community together and convince those with power that they need to say 'yes' to measures improving our communities, even when they would prefer to say 'no'". ●

The Rise and Decline of al-Muhajiroun in the UK

Al-Muhajiroun was first created by Omar Bakri Mohammed, who was born in Aleppo, Syria in 1958. Joining the Muslim Brotherhood while still a teenager, Bakri later became involved with the international pan-Islamic organisation Hizb ut Tahrir (HT).

After a spell in Cairo, he moved to Mecca where he organised a small coterie of followers. His group's activities soon came to the attention of Saudi authorities and, in late 1985, he was arrested and deported, relocating to London. Once in the UK, Bakri's charismatic style meant his new HT branch blossomed quickly – by 1990, it had grown to 400 members – and began to draw mainstream media attention for his outlandish and extreme declarations and stunts, tactics the movement has used ever since.

Al-Muhajiroun's UK launch

After falling out with HT's leadership in the Middle East, Bakri quit on 15 January 1996 to launch his own organisation, al-Muhajiroun (AM), just three days later. Anjem Choudary, then merely a follower of Bakri, drafted the resignation letter.

Under Bakri's leadership and with Choudary by his side, AM quickly became the most visible and vocal radical Islamist group in Britain, with branches in over 30 cities and towns.

However, it was in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in America that the profile of the group began to rocket. Unlike most of the British Muslim community, which largely condemned the attacks, AM jumped to their defence, even publically celebrating them.

Despite the group's extreme rhetoric, most saw it as almost clownish, looking for media headlines and not much else. However, the reality was much more serious as became apparent in the wake

of the 7 July 2005 bombings that killed 52 people in London. Mohammad Sidique Khan, ringleader of the plot, was an AM convert and Shehzad Tanweer, an accomplice, has been described as a "member" of AM.

Due to increasing public outrage over AM's outlandish and provocative actions, Bakri fled to Lebanon in August 2005 in the wake of a string of arrests of AM activists. Seizing on widespread public anger, the then Home Secretary Charles Clarke banned him from returning, declaring his presence in the UK was "not conducive to the public good".

However, before the bomb attacks, AM had undergone a name change and was now operating as al-Ghurabaa under the leadership of AM activist Abu Izzaddeen (formerly Omar Brooks). Al-Ghurabaa's website claimed that terrorism was "part of Islam" and equally controversially stated that blame for the 7/7 bombings did not lie with the perpetrators but rather with the British government and the British public.

Simultaneously, a group called al-Firqat un-Naajiyah, or the Saved Sect, was also launched and led by Abu Uzair who had, like Izzaddeen, had been involved in AM.

While claiming to be new and separate groups, al-Ghurabaa and the Saved Sect held demonstrations together, including the February 2006 protest against the publication of cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed outside the Danish embassy in London. As planned, the provocative protests caused media outrage and, in July 2006, both groups, not long after being launched, were banned.

As if to show the futility of such a tactic, almost instantaneously a new group emerged from the same milieu of activists under the name Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaah (meaning "Adherents to the Sunnah and the community") and led by

Sulayman Keeler (born Simon Keeler).

In addition to the Internet-based Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaah, Islam4UK was another street-based reconstitution of AM operating simultaneously. With Bakri in exile, the leadership of the UK-based operation fell to the increasingly high-profile Anjem Choudary. Following an aborted protest in early 2010 in Wootton Bassett – the town that had become an unofficial site of public mourning for returning British military fatalities – Islam4UK joined its predecessors in being quickly outlawed under the UK's counter terrorism laws.

As expected, it once again reformed, this time under the name of Muslims Against Crusades (MAC). While still under Choudary's leadership, the group's puppet spokesperson was Abu Assadullah. The group's most famous stunt was its poppy burning near the Albert Hall on Remembrance Sunday in 2010. Following a year of headline-grabbing stunts and protests, MAC was finally banned by Home Secretary Theresa May on 10 November 2011, the eve of a planned protest at which the poppy burning was to have been repeated.

Unsurprisingly, MAC's prohibition simply led to the creation of new groups within the same network of activists. One such group was The Sharia Project, founded in 2012 in Waltham Forest in North East London and led by the AM and MAC activist Abu Usamah. This outfit is best known for its "Muslim Patrols" that involved groups of street activists attempting to implement *sharia* law by force.

AM activists also mobilised in an organisation called Need4Khilafah only for that, too, to be proscribed in mid-2014 along with the Shariah Project and the AM-linked Islamic Dawah Association, bringing to eleven the number of Choudary-linked groups



now illegal. However, the continual banning of these AM fronts has failed to curtail their activities and, behind the scenes, their structures remained largely unchanged.

Tactical Shift

2014 was a year of tactical change for the group. The regular large public demonstrations were jettisoned with Choudary doing more frequent online talks via the Paltalk forum which reached a more international audience.

At the same time, he began to use two of his closest supporters, Mizanur Rahman (*aka* Abu Baraa) and Hindu convert, Abu Rumaysah, to front his British operation. This pair were increasingly put up for interviews and, in Rahman's case, pontificated on life through his own online lectures.

His ruminations ranged from speaking out against the Poppy to explaining why Islamic State (IS) has not attacked Israel and attacking conspiracy theorists for allegedly spreading rumours that the Israeli intelligence services are behind IS.

Choudary himself spent much of 2014 touring TV studios, singing the praises and denying the crimes of the Islamic State before he was arrested in September.

Decline of AM in the UK

However, since 2014 and Choudary's arrest, the organisation within the UK has somewhat disintegrated because of a combination of factors.

For many years, the authorities seemed unsure of how exactly to deal with Choudary and his lawless supporters. However, the police did finally move against him and eight key AM activists in late September 2014, just days before the UK government announced its intention to participate in air strikes against ISIS.

Along with Choudary, others arrested on suspicion of belonging to a proscribed organisation included Abu Izzadeen, former boxing champion Anthony Small, Mizanur Rahman, Abu Rumaysah, Abu Saalihah and Abdul Muhid, who runs the MuslimPrisoners organisation.

All were released the following day on police bail, with the exception of Izzadeen who was found to be in breach of an existing licence.

The arrests were part of the ongoing disruption of the group and, with the confiscation of all its computers, a useful intelligence-gathering operation.

In addition to a state crackdown that severely disrupted AM's operation

and has ultimately resulted in the imprisonment of Choudary, the exodus of AM activists to foreign war zones has also had a large impact.

The high profile departures of AM activists to Syria and Iraq such as Abu Rumaysah who, after being released on bail by the British authorities fled to Syria in September 2014 with his wife and four children, are just the tip of an iceberg.

Well over 100 UK activists with some link to Choudary and AM have headed abroad and, in some places like Luton, whole branches appear to have gone together. The result is that AM in the UK has been seriously denuded of activists.

While AM is still active here, with members holding small street stalls in East London and several branches being active around the UK, the organisation lacks the numbers to hold the large high profile demonstrations that made it infamous.

Numerous AM fronts such as MuslimPrisoners still function and the threat from AM activists remains real but the days of dozens of activists staging headline-grabbing stunts seem to be over. With few key activists left in the country and at liberty, AM in the UK is just a pale shadow of its former self. ●

Justice at last

Nick Lowles on how the law finally caught up with Britain's most hateful hate preacher

IT HAS BEEN a long time coming but, finally, Anjem Choudary, Britain's most prominent Islamist cleric, is behind bars having been found guilty of supporting a terrorist organisation.

A four-week trial at the Old Bailey heard how he was a vocal and enthusiastic supporter of the Islamic State (IS) and an apologist for its brutal crimes.

Following IS's announcement of its Islamic State in June 2014 and before his arrest in 2015, Choudary had emerged as one of the biggest cheerleaders for IS in the English-speaking world, promoting its message and announcing that people should support its self-declared Caliphate. At the same time, his followers were flocking to the Islamic State cause, at home and abroad.

Anjem Choudary became the go-to figure for TV outlets and newspaper journalists across the world, offering IS open and vocal support.

He welcomed IS's creation and declared it "legitimate". In an interview with the *Guardian*, he called IS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi "the caliph of all Muslims and the prince of the believers", adding that that "It is not true that people are being slaughtered" and claiming that minorities were being well-treated under IS rule.

In 2015, a key al-Muhajiroun (AM) member and leading Choudary disciple, Abu Rumaysah, who had relocated

to the Islamic State in Syria, produced A Brief Guide to the Islamic State which echoed Choudary's words, ignoring the brutal reality of IS and instead painting a picture of a land of "scrumptious" falafel sandwiches and fruit cocktails.

Responding to the British media outcry following the beheading of Alan Henning, who was in Syria on an aid mission, Choudary told the *Daily Telegraph*: "In the Quran it is not allowed for you to feel sorry for non-Muslims. I don't feel sorry for him...I don't know the real story, I only heard from the British Government and media."

More provocatively, Choudary revelled in telling the media he would love to move to the Islamic State – if only the authorities would let him. "I'd go tomorrow. I'd love to bring my children up there," he told the *Sunday Mirror*. And he told *The Times*: "I believe the world belongs to God and that one day, hopefully, the UK will be part of an Islamic State. Why shouldn't I be free to travel to the Khalifah [caliphate] and see what life is like under the Sharia?"

In 2013, HOPE not hate produced a seminal report into Choudary's network called *Gateway to Terror*, revealing that scores of AM-linked men had headed to fight overseas from Choudary-linked or inspired groups, from both UK and overseas.



Altogether HOPE not hate estimates that well over 100 Britons with some connection to Choudary and the AM network have decamped to Syria to fight. Most are from London but others originate from Luton, Crawley, Cardiff, Birmingham, Stoke-on-Trent, Leicester, Derby, Leeds, Halifax and Manchester.

Choudary was also at the centre of an international network of interconnected extremist groups, many with connections to terrorism and jihadism and spreading from Belgium to Germany, Denmark, Norway, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and, even, to Indonesia.

In the eight months following the formation of the IS, Choudary's international

network was probably the single largest recruiter of jihadist fighters from Europe.

For far too long, Anjem Choudary was able to play a key role as ISIS' cheerleader. Although he was treated as a clown-like, go-to, figure for the press and as a rent-a-quote extremist, he avidly promoted the disgusting and divisive ideals of the Islamic State, while dozens of his supporters have been connected to terrorist plots, violence or simply headed overseas to fight in Syria, Iraq and other conflicts.

No surprise. Over the last 15 years, he has influenced and inspired over 100 Britons who have carried out or attempted to carry out terrorist attacks at home and abroad.

At last, Choudary is paying for his vile actions. ●

The al-Muhajiroun international network

While Anjem Choudary has been at the centre of UK Muslims heading abroad, he is also at the centre of a much larger international network of extreme, interconnected Islamist groups. Many of these have played similarly important roles in recruiting activists in their own country and exporting them to the Islamic State. Joe Mulhall investigates.

BELGIUM

Anjem Choudary helped launch Sharia4Belgium in early 2010. In March 2010 the leader of the group Fouad Belkacem (alias Abu Imran) visited Choudary in London with a view to learning from his British operation. In an interview with the author Choudary said:

"I was being approached by, at that time Abu Imran, he was the head of Sharia4Belgium, he came to see me in February or March 2010 and he said he was very impressed with our activities and he wanted to know how they could do something similar. [...] He started his own movement called Sharia4Belgium after our Islam4UK."

In May of that year he attended a Sharia4Belgium press conference called 'Muslims Rise' where he was joined by the prominent Luton based al-Muhajiroun activist, Sayful Islam, and the leader of Sharia4Belgium Fouad Belkacem (alias Abu Imran).

In 2010 authorities arrested 11 people in connection with a terror plot in Belgium. Those arrested were believed to be linked to Sharia4Belgium. They also investigated the group's funding of a Chechen terror organisation.

The Belgian state came down hard on Sharia4Belgium and destroyed the organisation. In 2015 an Antwerp court found a total of 45 members of the group guilty of terror-related offences. Their leader Belkacem was sentenced to 12 years in prison.

Belgians in Syria

The role of Sharia4Belgium in inspiring people to head to Syria has long been known. In the same year as our Gateway To Terror report (2013), Europol (European Union's Law Enforcement Agency) said: "There are indications that the ideology spread by Sharia4Belgium and other groups has contributed to the radicalisation and engagement of EU citizens in the Syrian conflict."

It went further in 2014, adding:



"...there are more and more indicators that members of Sharia4Belgium, for example, have joined armed groups in Syria [...]." In 2015 Europol added that the organisation was "suspected of facilitation and recruitment activities."

In early 2015 Belgian officials estimated that around 350 Belgians had gone to fight in Syria. In early 2016 Belgian terrorism expert Pieter van Ostaeyen placed that figure at up 562, thereby making Belgium the country with the highest number of Islamic State fighters per capita of all western nations.

During Fouad Belkacem's trial prosecutors said that he brainwashed dozens of young men to fight in Syria via lectures and social media. Officials said that around 10% of the Belgians in Syria had links to Sharia4Belgium. In late 2015, Raffaello Pantucci, writing in the publication of the Combating Terrorism Center at the United States Military Academy West Point, claimed that 50 Belgian fighters in Syria and Iraq "have roots in Sharia4Belgium" which is in line with Belgian official's 10% estimate.

ITALY

Islam4Italy was a tiny Italian group formed in the image of Islam4UK by Anas El Abboubi, a Moroccan who had lived with his family near Brescia, Italy since 1999.

He was arrested for terrorism offences in June 2013 and accused of training with terrorist purposes and incitement to discrimination and violence for racial, ethnic and religious reasons. Anjem Choudary reacted to the arrest by tweeting:

"The Shari'ah will in fact one day be implemented in Rome & Italy anyway despite the Italian authorities making a big fuss about Sharia4Italy"

Upon his arrest it was reported that Abboubi had become increasingly interested in events in Syria and recruited others to join him in supporting the cause and travelling to Syria if necessary. He was released soon after.

Then on 14 September 2013 he travelled to Syria, via Turkey with the help of a small group of Albanian facilitators.

Once in Syria, likely Aleppo, he adopted the name Anas al-Italy but was killed soon after which was confirmed when his name appeared on a leaked list of 122 Islamic State 'martyrs'.



Anjem Choudary (centre), Fouad Belkacem (right).

Spring 2012, Tøyengata in Oslo, 75 meters from the "mosque" of the Prophets Ummah.



FRANCE

Forsane Alizza [Knights of Pride] was part of the al-Muhajiroun network and has been described by *The Telegraph* newspaper as "an organisation associated with the group Sharia4UK" which was an ALM front group. Forsane Alizza advertised its ideological affinity with British based al-Muhajiroun front groups.

Following its banning, a French newspaper noted how Forsane Alizza maintained a particularly close relationship with al-Muhajiroun in the UK and how at some of its demonstrations FA members sported the flags and banners of their UK counterparts.

In fact a number of leading UK al-Muhajiroun activists travelled to France to take part in a protest with Forsane Alizza.

Terrorism at Home

In March 2012 seven people were killed and five others injured following attacks on a French soldier and Jewish civilians in the French cities of Montauban and Toulouse. The attack was carried out by Mohamed Merah, an Islamist extremist known to the French domestic intelligence agency (DCRI) as a member of Forsane Alizza.

Security sources in Paris stated that Merah had been in contact with British Islamic extremists as recently as 2011, the year before the attack.

In the investigations following the attack it emerged that



Abdelkader Merah, the brother of the attacker and also a member of Forsane Alizza, visited Britain and "may have met radicals in the UK".

In 2015, 15 members of the outlawed group were tried for "criminal association with the aim of preparing terrorist acts."

Recruiters for Foreign War

Forsane Alizza was banned in early 2012, meaning the group had all but disbanded by the time the war in Syria had become a major draw to Western Islamist fighters.

However, several supporters of the group were subsequently involved in recruitment, such as Omar Diaby, who the French newspaper *Le Monde* stated had become a main recruiter in France for the Syrian Al-Nusra Front. Raffaello Pantucci claims that Diaby ended up heading up a French brigade in Syria.

In 2014 French authorities arrested five people on suspicion of recruiting young women to join Islamist fighters in Syria. According to a police source at least one of those arrested had links to Forsane Alizza.

GERMANY

In Germany the group within the al-Muhajiroun network was called Millatu Ibrahim. It was originally formed in November 2011 by Mohamed Mahmoud (alias Abu Usama al-Gharib) and Denis Cuspert (alias Abu Talha al-Almani).

The links between Millatu Ibrahim in Germany and the al-Muhajiroun network in the UK are very strong.

Anjem Choudary was quoted in German media as having visited Germany and having met with representatives from Millatu Ibrahim. He also offered his support over the social network site Twitter after the group was targeted by German authorities.

Other links can be found via Salafi Media UK, a UK-based group run by Abu Waleed, a one-time supporter of the British al-Muhajiroun network but who in recent years became publicly critical of Choudary. However, this did not prevent him from attending several al-Muhajiroun demonstrations in London during 2013 and 2014.

Millatu Ibrahim uses the 'Salafi Media' registration for its own website and the UK website has hosted videos by the German leader Mohamed Mahmoud, also known as Abu Usama al-Gharib. Furthermore, Abu Waleed, who founded Salafi Media in

late 2009, posted a video of support for Millatu Ibrahim in May 2012.

Millatu Ibrahim and the Islamic State

As far back as 2012 it was clear the group had fighters abroad when it released a statement claiming that two of its members died in a car accident in the "Land of Jihad".

In early 2016 it was reported that more than 800 Germans had travelled to fight for the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria.

An article in the CTC Sentinel, the publication of the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, states that Millatu Ibrahim, formed "the nucleus of German foreign fighter activists in Syria" and that, "many people close to Millatu Ibrahim have likely joined ISIL."

After the group was banned its leaders, Mahmoud and Cuspert, fled Germany. Mahmoud was subsequently arrested in March 2014 in Turkey, almost certainly on his way to Syria, while Cuspert made it and linked up with the organization Junud al-Sham (Soldiers of Syria) before pledging his allegiance to IS in April 2014.

In Syria Cuspert heads up a combat unit of Millatu Ibrahim members called the German Brigade of Millatu Ibrahim.

NORWAY

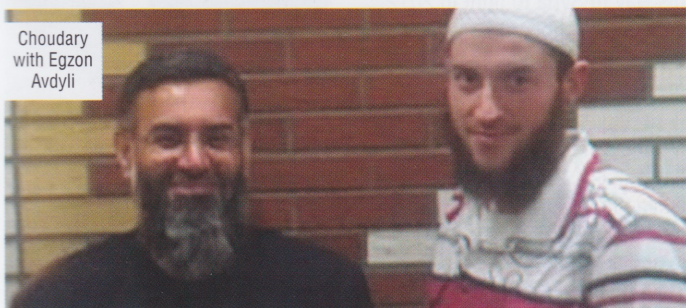
The group linked to Anjem Choudary and the al-Muhajiroun network in Norway is called Prophet's Ummah. In 2012 Choudary developed links with the group and met members on several occasions in Oslo.

After a video was posted on YouTube by a leading Prophet's Ummah activist, Choudary boasted to the media that he encouraged them to post it and claimed he also acted as a mentor to the group.

Choudary's influence on the group was further exposed when the BBC met Ubaydullah, a spokesperson for Prophet's Ummah, who claimed he had visited the UK and met Choudary as recently as 2015.

He said: "I respect him because of his knowledge and we talk from time [...]. Of course I learn a lot of things from him. And he also gives us some advice."

Choudary with Egzon Avdyli



DENMARK

The al-Muhajiroun-linked group in Denmark is called Kaldet til Islam. It is one of the oldest group in the network outside the UK with its origins dating back to 2004, when 12 activists from Denmark attended an al-Muhajiroun rally in London.

Abu Asadullah, the group's spokesman and Abu Musa (aka Shiraz Tariq), the chairman, are said to have regularly watched and listened to Omar Bakri's preaching over the internet.

The group has modelled itself after the Choudary-run Islam4UK and mimicked the UK-based group's tactic of provocative public demonstrations. Kaldet til Islam hit the headlines in Denmark in September 2012 when, in a copy of the similar Islam4UK demonstrations, it held a demo on National Flag Day; a day similar to Remembrance Sunday in the UK.

Also in 2012 members held a demonstration in Copenhagen at which Omar Bakri spoke to

Norwegians in Syria

The Norwegian Security Service has said that there are strong indicators that the flow of Norwegians to Iraq and Syria has been organised by people belonging to Prophet's Ummah.

In late 2014 Norway's largest newspaper *Aftenposten*, stated that at least five of the eight to ten Norwegians then killed in Syria were associated with Prophet's Ummah. There are also confirmed examples such as Thomas Alexander, a Prophet's Ummah member who was killed while fighting for the Islamic State in Kobane.

Choudary also had links with Egzon Avdyli, a 25-year-old from Oslo who was killed in Syria in 2014.



Shiraz Tariq

the audience over the phone from Lebanon and is reported to have said: "Those who insult the prophet shall be killed."

Kaldet til Islam in Syria

It is known that members of Kaldet til Islam have gone to Syria to fight though no exact number is available. However, what is certain is that several leading Danish activists have been confirmed killed. The group's chairman Shiraz Tariq was killed while fighting for IS in Syria. He was killed in Syria's Latakia province in 2013.

It also looks likely that his fellow Kaldet til Islam member Abu Khattab was also killed.

PORTUGAL



Due to Portugal having such a small Muslim community there have only been tiny numbers of activists who have fled to Syria to fight for the Islamic State.

However, extensive investigations by *Expresso* in Portugal have revealed how one group of Portuguese activists, who are now said to hold prominent positions in the Islamic State hierarchy, were actually radicalised in the UK and linked to al-Muhajiroun.

Between 2012 and 2013 the six Portuguese nationals (Edgar Costa, Celso Costa, Fábio Poças, Nero Patrício Saraiva, Sandro 'Funa' Monteiro, Sadjó Turé) were based in Leyton, east London and most studied at the University of East London in Stratford.

While in Portugal none of them were said to be particularly religious and some were actually from Catholic backgrounds. However, the group were radicalised in the UK while living in east London. Choudary has denied knowing the Portuguese men personally, but oral sources report that they were in contact with ALM activists in the UK. Also, *Expresso* quoted a source close to the British Security Service, which said it was "highly probable" that they had been involved in or at least crossed paths with groups such as Sharia4UK.

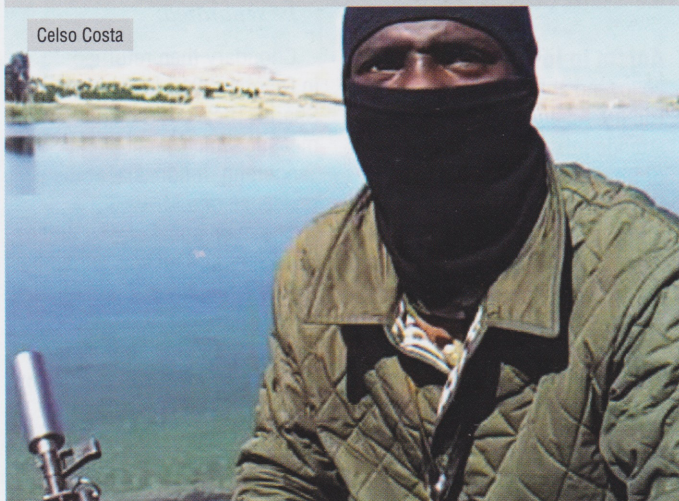
Before the Portuguese

men left to fight in Syria they returned to Portugal and aided 10 British jihadists, providing an alternative and less orthodox route (London-Lisbon-Istanbul-Syria) to the Islamic State which was designed to avoid the attention of British intelligence services. The Portuguese 'London Cell' managed the "recruitment, transport, accommodation, supply and financing of this terrorist route to Syria."

Following this, the militants then headed to Syria. Generally, when tracing what European ALM activists end up doing in Syria it is very low-level work such as religious policing, becoming frontline cannon-fodder or suicide bombers – but the Portuguese group stands out. It has been reported that almost all have risen through the IS hierarchy with some being responsible for new recruits, others for propaganda or managing financial operations. Nero Patrício Saraiva is reported to be one of Islamic State's most senior fighters and Edgar and Celso Costa have both appeared in IS propaganda videos.

It is believed that most still live together in Raqqa, Syria, though some have now died. Sandro 'Funa' Monteiro was the last of the Portuguese 'London Cell' to fly to Syria and he died in coalition airstrikes near Kobane in late October of 2014. Sadjó Turé was the next of the London group to be killed (and the fifth Portuguese altogether) when he was shot in late 2015 by Assad's forces.

Celso Costa



INDONESIA

The roots of ALM in Indonesia can be traced back to 2005 when Muhammad Fachry (real name Tuah Febriwansyah) began interacting with Omar Bakri Muhammad through the video chat forum Paltalk (a regular meeting place for Islamist extremists).

Fachry received Omar Bakri's blessing to form an ALM group in Indonesia and he set up two mailing lists that he called "Al Ghuraba" and "Ahlus Sunnah Waljamaah", then in 2006 he set up his own study circle and in 2007 launched the first edition of *Al-Muhajiroun* magazine.

In 2010 he founded Sharia4Indonesia in the image of the UK-based ALM front group Sharia4UK. The group was headed up by Fachry's friend Abu Shofiy.

In 2012 the group held a 100-strong demonstration to celebrate the 9/11 attacks. Entitled, 'You Lost the War', the event was held in collaboration with Jemaah Anshorut Tauhid, an offshoot of Jamaah Islamiyah, which is best known for being behind the 2002 Bali bombing which killed 202 people.

In early 2013 Fachry and his supporters formed the Forum of Islamic Law Activists (FAKSI) which called for the formation of a caliphate. The group was in contact with Omar Bakri who led discussion via video link. FAKSI began holding public demonstrations in support of IS and then in April 2014 FAKRI activists began swearing formal loyalty oaths to the Islamic State. It is estimated that around 2,000 Indonesians have sworn oaths to the Islamic State.

Anjem in Indonesia

Following an invitation from Fachry, Anjem Choudary attended the official launch of Sharia4Indonesia in March 2010. He appeared at an Islamic Book Fair in Senayan, Jakarta in support of Sharia4Indonesia. The organisation was then later formally launched in August 2010 with a demonstration in Jakarta that attracted around 24 people. Other Indonesian branches were then set up including Sharia4Jatim,



Sharia4TheWorldCampaign meeting, South Tangerang, Indonesia

Sharia4Tanjung Balai and Sharia4Bandung.

In November 2010, following Choudary's first visit, Fachry posted the transcript of a long interview with him on arrahmah.com, Indonesia's largest jihadi website, in which he asked Choudary for advice on how to prepare for the resurrection of Islam and the Prophetic Caliphate system. Choudary answered:

"Muslims in Indonesia must take the authority from those who have it and appoint a Khalifah who will implement the Shari'ah. In the meantime whilst they are living under the Kufr system they must engage in presenting Islam as an alternative to the man made law and support those who are trying to take back the authority which is their right. The twin duties of Daw'ah and Jihad cannot be separated."

Choudary then returned in October 2013 for a Sharia4TheWorldCampaign meeting which was held in South Tangerang, Indonesia, at the residence of a Mr Pa Ji.

The main speaker was Anjem Choudary and he was joined by two British activists; spokesman for Al Ghurabaa Abu Izzadeen and 'revert' Zakariah (formerly Charles) who worked in Yummy Yummy, a sweet shop in Stepney Green, London owned by Yazdani Choudary, brother

of Anjem. The speaker from Sharia4Indonesia was Ustadz Abu Sholeh.

Indonesians in Syria

With the first Indonesian making his way to Syria to fight in 2012, estimates of how many others have since joined him vary greatly.

In August 2015 Densus 88, the Indonesian counter-terror unit, had a list of 166 verified names, while the Indonesian National Intelligence Organisation has estimated 500 for several years. The most recent estimate was made by Security Minister Luhut Panjaitan in December 2015, who claimed the number could be as high as 800.

Considering that Indonesia is home to 200 million Muslims these numbers are surprisingly small and even more so when one considers estimates of up to 1700 fighters from France alone. One reason for the small numbers is possibly due to the language barrier though they sought to overcome this issue in July 2014 with the creation of a special unit for Malay-speakers in IS.

Of course knowing how many of the possible 800 Indonesians fighting in Syria have links to al-Muhajiroun and Sharia4Indonesia/FAKSI is very hard indeed. However, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service has highlighted FAKSI as one of the groups that make up the "ISIL network in Indonesia" from which recruiters are drawn.

There are also numerous



confirmed cases of ALM-linked Indonesian activists heading to fight in Syria such as Bahrum Syah (real name Muhammad al Indunisi), who left in May 2014. Syah is believed to have been inspired by al-Muhajiroun and was later to star in an IS recruitment video called 'Joining the Ranks'.

Another activist in Syria is Salim Mubarak (changed name to Abu Jandal Al-Yemeni), a FAKSI member from Malang, who took his family with him. IPAC claim that he has since helped facilitate the journey for other Indonesians heading to Syria, including five of his former students in Malang.

Fachry Jailed

Muhammad Fachry has not made the journey to Syria himself and in February 2016 was found guilty of supporting the Islamic State in a Jakarta court and was sentenced to five years in prison and a fine of \$367.

He was one of seven people found guilty of such charges on the day, all of whom received between three and four years in prison.

NETHERLANDS

Sharia4Holland was an offshoot of Sharia4Belgium led by Abu Qasim (Abu Juhayman) who in May 2012 was on charged with making death threats against the far right Dutch Freedom Party leader, Geert Wilders.

Sharia4Holland and the linked group Behind Bars/Street Dawah modelled themselves closely on the British movement Islam4UK and adopted the tactics of Choudary and his UK followers. The group was active for several years but fell silent at the end of 2012 and then disbanded; however, individual members stayed in touch and continued to make up the backbone of the Islamist scene in the Netherlands.

Choudary in the Netherlands

The transformation of jihadism in the Netherlands

Dutch Intelligence services cited Choudary as being a major influence on the rise of militant jihadism in the country

On May 25 2012, Sharia4Holland held a press conference with Anjem Choudary called the Global Sharia Conference. Also in attendance with Choudary was leading Luton-based ALM activist Sayful Islam, Abu Rahin Aziz who fled from the UK to Syria and one other UK ALM activist.

A report by the Dutch Security Services (AIVD) describes how the homegrown jihadist movement in the Netherlands has experienced a sudden and explosive growth in recent years. The 58-page report *The Transformation of Jihadism in the Netherlands: Swarm Dynamics and New Strength*, cites Anjem Choudary and his Islam4UK movement as major influences on the development of the Dutch jihadist scene, both with the creation of Sharia4Holland and the Behind Bars/Street Dawah

initiatives as well as with the adoption of its provocative tactics.

"By making use of activist techniques like demonstrations and leafleting to disseminate provocative jihadist propaganda openly, these groups were able to mobilize some fellow Muslims and attract new recruits," according to the AIVD. "Many young people, in particular, found a way of venting their jihadist ideals through such activities."

Also, *The New Yorker* explains how: "On one occasion, Choudary and a group of his followers travelled to the Netherlands, to deliver a lecture for the brothers of Sharia4-Belgium and its partner organization Sharia4Holland "about the methodology to overthrow the regimes".

Dutch Activists in Syria

In early 2016 the Dutch authorities stated that around 200 people from the Netherlands had headed to Syria to fight. The exodus started at the end of 2012 and coincided with the demise of Sharia4Holland and Behind Bars/Street Dawah.

A document issued by the General Intelligence and Security Service of the Netherlands explained how: "Individuals associated with the two movements were at the heart of that sudden exodus." Another report written by a former senior analyst at the transnational affairs desk at the Dutch Ministry of Defense stated about Sharia4Holland that: "It became clear the leaders and most members of their inner circles had travelled to Syria to join the jihad."



Mustafa Maya Amaya



SPAIN

Sharia4Spain was originally created in 2010 and has been described by CNN

as "a radical pro-jihadist group linked to Al Muhajiroun in the United Kingdom" and the Spanish newspaper *Diario de Navarra* states that it is a franchise of the UK-based Global Sharia Movement which was founded by Choudary. At one point Sharia4Spain is said to have had 400 followers.

In March 2014 a joint Spanish/Moroccan operation broke up a jihadist network that was one of the largest of its kind in Europe and responsible for recruiting and sending jihadists to fight in foreign wars.

The crackdown came at the end of a five-year investigation into the network based in Melilla, Spain which police said was responsible for sending 26 men (24 Moroccans and two Spanish citizens) to join the Algerian-led movement Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb.

The leader of the Melilla network was the Brussels born Spanish citizen, convert Mustafa Maya Amaya.

Maya Amaya is suspected of being responsible for recruiting dozens of jihadists and sending them to fight in Africa and the Middle East, including Syria.

The Spanish newspaper *Diario de Navarra* has described Maya Amaya as one of the biggest recruiters in Europe for the Islamic State. It was members of this Melilla based recruitment network that set up Sharia4Spain.

Following the raids, the group fell dormant. However, just eight months later its online presence was resurrected.

Sharia4Spain is not just a recruiting network for foreign fighters but it has also been linked to terrorist attacks in Europe. On 1 May 2015 German police intervened to stop a plot to attack a cycle race in the town of Oberursel near Frankfurt. Police discovered a pipe bomb, 100 rounds of ammunition and a gun, as well as three litres of hydrogen peroxide. Investigations revealed that the would-be attackers had recently travelled to Spain to meet with members of Sharia4Spain.

Choudary and Spain

Back in 2013 Choudary was talking excitedly of his growing network in Spain.

During an interview with *The Guardian* newspaper published in September 2014, Choudary mentioned that he had recently been to Spain though details have not emerged about why he went or who he met.



Anjem Choudary, Abu Qasim and Sayful Islam

#MoreInCommon

PINNER

Flora Richards

FIFTY YOUNGSTERS turned up to our Babies & Toddlers picnic & soft play event, organised by Harrow NCT as part of the #MoreInCommon weekend.

I borrowed the soft playthings from our weekly playgroup and set up a Facebook event, expecting maybe 20 parents to come. Almost 50 did.

The atmosphere was warm and friendly and the parents and children were delighted to receive their free #MoreInCommon T-shirts.

Entertainment was provided by Claire from Monkey Music who did a taster session of songs and percussion for the families to enjoy. The weather, though cool and cloudy, thankfully stayed dry. We look forward to making the children's picnic an annual event!

■ Find out more about Harrow NCT: <http://bit.ly/HarrowNCT>



MANCHESTER PICNIC IN THE PARK

Nick Lowles

PLATT FIELDS PARK is in the heart of Manchester. Its surrounding area is home to a diverse community in which more than 40 languages are spoken. What better place, then, to celebrate the life of Joe Cox and her belief that we have more in common than that which divides us.

Our event saw people from this diverse community come together, share food, and enjoy music and smiles despite torrential rain! This was made better by the fact that local youth worker Kemoy Walker and his group KYSO joined Billy Bragg and Joe Solo to entertain a crowd of 250 people.

The event could not have happened without the support of Manchester City Council and the HOPE not hate volunteers who worked really hard to ensure that everyone had a great time.



ROTHERHAM

Nick Stevens

LIKE MUSIC and tea – as HOPE not hate has often found – food is a wonderful unifier. Sharing a meal with others is a perfect, relaxed way to encourage conversation to flow and relationships to form.

And so it was in Rotherham on Saturday 17 September when HOPE not hate brought Rotherham residents together in the town centre under the banner of our #MoreInCommon campaign to share some delicious grub, courtesy of The Real Junk Food Project and some other local Rotherham food outlets.

As the weather saw fit to treat us to some long-overdue sunshine, people streamed to the tents to eat, talk, laugh, have their faces painted, get a henna tattoo and try their hand at some special arts and crafts. Music and laughter filled the air, and there was a real sense of positivity among those in attendance.

There is much work to be done in Rotherham when it comes to rebuilding a fractured community so it was deeply encouraging and inspiring to see so many local people turning out to celebrate and build community harmony.

A big “Thank you” to everyone who helped make the event such a success.



BURNLEY BOURNEMOUTH

Jason Hunter

BURNLEY PEACE Gardens hosted an evening open-air event culminating with a laser lighting the night sky. We called the event “Pull up a Chair”...for people from differing backgrounds to sit down to chat.

Over a hundred people attended – sharing food and thoughts – with a local choir and a henna stall. In the heavy rain, we had cover, in the “Bat Cave”, a structure erected to provide a home for bats when a nearby building was demolished and from surrounding trees.

Although the weather was bad, we were still able to mingle. Despite the kind offer of a local church, outdoors worked better, not least because local teenagers who congregate nearby and a homeless guy got involved. Julie Cooper, our Labour MP gave a moving tribute to Jo Cox.

Jason Hunter summarised the #MoreInCommon message, with a local slant, saying: “Burnley, a great town with real problems, should not blame those problems on refugees or immigrants, but on the chronic underfunding of public services and the loss of well paid jobs. These are problems we share and must tackle together”.

Ardina Bräuer

OUR #MOREINCOMMON event took place at the Boscombe Community Fair in Bournemouth. Unfortunately, the spot designated by the fair’s organisers was hardly big enough to set up our gazebo but a friend kindly invited me to join her Indian and Thai clothes stall, providing a perfect, eye-catching background.

The weather on the Saturday only let us run the stall for a couple of hours and the gazebo was blown away in the night! Nevertheless, we set up again on Sunday morning and we managed to create a beautiful, colourful stall. The outcome was that we attracted more than 50 people to talk to us and get involved in colouring a rose-shaped paper and write their hopes and wishes for their communities on it that we then added to our “Hope-web”.

They also liked the #MoreInCommon brochure – with its hands-on tips about how to react when witnessing a racist incident – and filled out pledge cards. Some of the people who spoke to us also said they would be interested in volunteering for a HOPE not hate event.

The outcome for me personally was to learn so much from organising materials and being creative with people about how to run an event and do campaigning work.

Everybody we spoke to knew or had heard about the tragic murder of Jo Cox and agreed that we need to keep showing that we have more in common than that which divides us!







A county remembers

By Paul Meszaros

WEST YORKSHIRE, still reeling from the appalling murder of Jo Cox, MP for Batley & Spen, was soon coming to terms, along with the rest of the country, with the rise in racist attacks and assaults that followed the Brexit vote. The venomous and openly xenophobic campaigns that some politicians engaged in created a climate where racism and division were let loose across England and, for some, the Brexit vote meant that all foreigners should leave immediately, causing children to leave school in tears after enduring threats and taunts.

But almost immediately, a different, a better, a more enlightened Britain stood up to be counted. People of all ages and backgrounds, many of whom had never engaged in any political activity, came forward to respond to the bitterness and division they were witnessing.

Many of these same people looked to HOPE not hate to provide answers to the messages of hate. In the two weeks following the Brexit vote, we were inundated with people wanting to get involved and, in response, we held meetings across the county, organised in great haste, so that we could start to engage with this new audience.

Meetings were held all over Yorkshire, including York, Bradford, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Leeds and Batley.

These meetings were very well attended and it was clear that many people wanted to get actively involved. In all these towns and cities, local organisers came to the fore and took a lead in preparing events for the weekend of 3 September.

One of the results of this is the



strong groups that have come together united by a shared belief in the vision of Jo Cox, that is so simply and wonderfully encapsulated in the slogan taken from her maiden speech #MoreInCommon.

That we have more in common than that which divides us should be self-evident but, in Britain in 2016, it still needs to be affirmed.

Across Yorkshire, events were planned to do just that. With little time, little notice and during the holiday period to build successful public events from scratch could have been daunting.

But, what we saw in all these places were quickly assembled planning groups and individuals prepared to work tirelessly to make sure the intended events would be successful.

In York, the plan was to have a fun day in the park and to leaflet the communities around it so as to bring them together. In Leeds, an ambitious city centre event with many activities had as its central theme "Cake not hate." In Huddersfield, a picnic was

to be held at the parish church and, in Bradford, an event that encompassed world food and culture was envisioned.

Batley was always going to be the biggest event of all. The love and respect in which Jo Cox is held in the hearts of people there is immediately apparent and the individuals and groups that came together to start planning the event reflected this.

Undaunted by time constraints or any other possible problems, the group ploughed a straight furrow to ensure they did Jo proud.

The plan was simple: to have a massive family fun day, with as



many free activities as possible and to include as much sporting and fun activity for all the family as possible.

At the same time, the organisers took charge of publicising the event, delivering 20,000 leaflets, creating and maintaining social media for the event as well as using mainstream media and banners.

As the day approached, the weather forecast looked grim but we remained hopeful. On the day, there were torrential downpours but if any were worried that this would spoil things, they were soon put at ease as the crowds amazingly started to appear through the rain.

Thousands came to the Batley event and, after enjoying a tremendous day of togetherness and fun, were able to listen to Batley Choir as well as inspirational words from Jo's sister, Kim.

Rotten weather was not going to stop people from all backgrounds coming to take part in the #MoreInCommon event for Jo.

And across the rest of the



county, the results were similar. In Bradford and Leeds, thousands of people came to share food from Irish Soda Bread to Syrian specialities and to hear and watch performers from many backgrounds, to eat cake or, in many cases, just to be part of standing up for hope and rejecting hatred and division.

Smaller events in York and Huddersfield were no less successful. What all the events had in common was the clear desire of ordinary people to live in peace. ●

Together Stronger Merthyr



ON SUNDAY 18 September HOPE Not Hate Merthyr hosted "TogetherStrongerMerthyr", with Wales football manager Chris Coleman, attracting a glorious turn out of hundreds of local people.

The sun was shining and spirits were high as the Merthyr and Merthyr Migrants teams arrived at Penydarren Park. It was no accident that the migrant team was housed in the "Home" changing rooms. This was to highlight Merthyr's diversity and the fact that Merthyr is just as much their home as it is the Merthyr league teams.

Supervising the match was a group of local community representatives, alongside Wales' youngest referee (at 14 years of age) and Chris Coleman himself. The guest and the players stood at centre of pitch, while the national anthem was played to the crowd, before the game kicked off.

The game went to a great start with the Merthyr Migrant team managing to hold their own against the professionals of the Merthyr League team. At half time, we were joined by Wales' youngest Elvis tribute artist, 'Rhys Berry', who performed some of Elvis' early classics.

As the second half progressed the Merthyr Migrants team managed to score a goal, to roars of approval from the stands. However their luck would soon change with the Merthyr League team scoring three goals in quick succession.

Despite the game finishing with the Merthyr Migrant team 6-1 down, their spirits remained high and there were smiles all round. The players enthusiastically collected their medals and headed over to the bar where they joined their families and revellers of all ages being entertained by Merthyr's up-and-coming-band The Dole Age.



A new chapter for Luton?

Peter Adams and Rehana Faisal offer their view

IT'S BEEN quite a month for Luton. As we look back over the past few weeks there is a sense that we are at a milestone moment, a time to reflect on what has been happening, where we are now and where we want to go.

Just weeks ago, Paul Golding, leader of Britain First (BF), pleaded guilty to wearing political uniform while demonstrating in Bury Park, Luton in January. Sentencing him, the district judge referred to the tensions in the East End of London when the 1936 Public Order Act of 1936 banned Mosley's Blackshirts from marching in uniform and compared it with the highly provocative act of a registered political party wearing uniform in our multicultural town today.

BF deputy leader Jayda Fransen, having pleaded not guilty at a later hearing, has still to stand trial for that as well as for religiously aggravated harassment, including that of a young Muslim mother and her family during the same protest.

A week later, contrary to expectations, Golding and Fransen agreed to a High Court order banning them from Bury Park, severely restricting their activity in Luton, and restricting their overall activity throughout England and Wales.

Just days later, we heard that well-known Muslim extremist preacher and Al-Muhajiroun (AM) leader Anjem Choudary had been found guilty of inviting support for ISIS.

In a separate trial several of his Luton followers, notably Sayful Islam, tried under his birth name of Alamgir, were found guilty of promoting so-called Islamic State and are likely to be in prison and out of circulation for several years.

This is a defining moment for Luton. Sayful Islam and his followers have been a regular source of trouble in Luton for fifteen years and a source of deep concern to the Muslim community.

It was in 2009 that ugly clashes between the banned AM's Luton contingent and a number of Lutonians began, including the protest at a homecoming parade of the Royal Anglian Regiment in March 2009.

Since then Luton has experienced ten far right demonstrations, the largest numbering several thousand people, and has been threatened with several more.

Additionally as home to the English Defence League (EDL) leadership of Stephen Lennon *aka* "Tommy Robinson" and Kevin Carroll, the town experienced their regular rabble-rousing around community issues.

At times, the relationship

between the two extremisms and, especially, their leaders, seemed almost symbiotic. It was most famously portrayed in the opening scene of *Proud and Prejudiced*, a Channel 4 documentary in early 2013, with Robinson taunting Sayful and Sayful slapping him through the car window. An iconic image...and a cycle of hateful behaviour that caused enormous distress to the people of Luton and beyond.

For the media, extremism has so often defined our town and at times it was hard to convince anyone it was not true.

With BF out of our way, the EDL effectively a spent force in Luton, its founder Stephen Lennon failing to get the German-import Pegida moving and many of the Muslim extremists locked up, we have room to breathe.

But as we look at the town, it is clear to us we need to see this moment as a milestone, not a destination. Prison is no long-term solution, neither is a ban on a registered political party. Given time, others will fill the vacuum. We hope, though, that the way Luton has responded to these extremists sends a message out to others who may be thinking of doing so. Luton has had enough and we will not allow our town and its young people to be exploited.

One of the successes of our Luton story over

these past years has been close cooperation between community groups, the police and local council.

We and many colleagues have been committed to close cooperation between the Muslim and Christian community. Early in 2009, the Mosques, Churches and Luton Council of Faiths made a commitment to hold the centre rather than allow ourselves to be pulled to the extremes.

One clear early response to the events of early 2009 was that the Muslim community determined that AM's activity and extremism would not be tolerated in the town. It is important to remember that these extremists were never inside the mosques themselves, though their voices were heard on the street and echoed by the media.

The mosques worked hard to challenge the religious justification they were giving to their views and ensured that they did not permeate their walls.

Equally Christian leaders, as the EDL was just emerging, worked hard to seek understanding of what was driving it to protest so angrily. They sought to understand, engage and dialogue rather than stereotype, demonise and oppose.

During the large EDL demonstrations of February

Iftar with friends and neighbours
at the Al Hira Centre Luton
Photo: @dawoodmasood786



2011 and May 2012 the Luton community worked closely together - on the streets mediating and, as a reassuring presence, challenging untruths, calming behaviour, stewarding the large numbers of Muslims nervously gathered in Bury Park and serving tea and samosas to the thousands of police in town.

Muslim and Christian leaders sat together on community cohesion groups, spent a considerable time in the community, spoke at community meetings, and talked to both the EDL and UAF.

The policing of the events was characterised by community involvement in planning and implementation. In the weeks following the demonstrations, we worked with the police to calm the community as hate incidents spiked and to eradicate the poison of hatred from our town.

A BF demonstration in June 2015 brought a similar mobilisation. On that occasion, church leaders took note of the group's claimed Christian foundation for its protest and wrote an open letter and then formally met BF leaders to ask them not to come to the town.

This was later supported by a statement, signed by a large number of the town's religious and community organisations though BF paid no attention. When it came back to the town unannounced in early 2016, Christian leaders handed out flowers and a message of solidarity in Bury Park the next day, thus negating BF's claim to represent a Christian voice.

Friendship and solidarity in the face of extremism goes both ways of course. After the murder of the priest in Rouen, France, in July some 20 Muslim leaders visited churches with flowers and a message expressing their shared pain.

As we now look at the way forward, it seems important to review the story, of the community working together to oppose extremism. It is from that platform of cooperation and friendship that we take our next steps forward together.

Cooperation across the Luton community that the extremes sought to polarise was important in itself but, as time has gone on, is now proving to be increasingly fruitful.

The most important thing to highlight is the friendship! In the midst of the ferment of activity, friendships formed!

We so often hear the call for integration of "immigrants", but integration cannot be forced, it evolves over several generations as we develop a shared story, common experience, appreciation of each other, and a multitude of day-by-day interactions.

Integration is about partnership, mutual respect and consideration for one another. We now find ourselves working on the board of the food bank, working for local charities and on school governing bodies with people we worked with to challenge EDL. To build resilience against extremism in our town we need to encourage much more of this.

We need to help many people across the community learn to talk together about the issues that extremists seek to exploit. Too often the authorities have stayed away from these.

As Christian and Muslim leaders we have recently, for example, launched a coalition to oppose all forms of sexual exploitation of children and young people.

For too long, the far right has perpetuated the myth of exploitation being a "Muslim problem". We know that this is untrue, and with the help of academics who specialise

in this field, are taking apart these myths. Sexual exploitation goes against all our faiths and values.

We want to build on what we have already done in regard to extremism, by engaging with the ideologies, of extremism, the issues that lead to extremism and with people inclined to that path.

Many of us are not comfortable with the Prevent programme to oppose extremism and its implementation. We have seen first hand the fear and mistrust that it generates and its negative impact on part of the community.

We recognise that it is a public duty for all of us to ensure that we are kept safe and we want to see it rightly applied to all forms of extremism that we face.

We are always looking at new ways in which we can work as community to ensure that no one within our community feels alienated or marginalised. We continue to build our networks and friendships to ensure that we are able to support those people who encounter hatred, suspicion and negativity, wherever they come from.

In Luton, we are committed to breaking those cycles of hate. ●

LOCKED UP

Matthew Collins

THEY BILLED it as “unity demonstration” by every fascist who could walk, hold a bottle of booze and throw a rock. It was to be payback against the “reds” after months of humiliating skirmishes around the country between fascists and anti-fascists.

Fascists bragged they were going to Dover for a fight. The last to hear of this, surprisingly, was the police, the only institution on 30 January of this year to be caught by surprise by three hours of rioting in the Kent town.

It was initially to be another in a long line of demonstrations in support of British truckers passing through Dover towards and past the increasingly perilous refugee camps of Calais. But the truckers had long given the National Front (NF), the people behind the series of small and volatile

demonstrations in their honour, a wide berth.

By August of this year, some fifty people had been arrested from around the United Kingdom for their part in the violence that took place on 30 January as three hundred fascists from every conceivable far right group in Britain converged on the south coast port.

As we go to press, there are more far right activists facing trial and rumours that there are still more wanted for questioning. It has become the largest round-up of fascists in the history of the British far right and, in response, the latter is crumbling.

It is the National Front and their occasional allies in the North West Infidel (NWI) gang that have borne the brunt of the police action but there are also people now in jail and facing the courts also from the English Defence League

(EDL), Right Wing Resistance (RWR) South East Alliance (SEA) and a smattering of tiny satellite formations that were previously little more than Facebook groups.

Rather than unifying the far right, Dover has split it almost beyond repair. The NWI and NF are facing off over the ramifications of their disastrous collusion on the day with the NF now on the verge of a complete dissolution.

Around the country, demonstrations have been small and shabby shuffles since police from Kent swooped on an NF demo in Swansea earlier this year to round up another load of people wanted for Dover.

Someone, somewhere, has been passing details to the press and the police of those whose faces appear on the wanted posters.

The disaster that was Dover also coincided

with what appears to be a concerted effort by the police in the North West to curtail abruptly the violent and criminal joint enterprise of the NF and the NWI there.

Elsewhere, in the North East, where another chunk of the far right has lost a number of foot soldiers, there is acrimony and the promise of fisticuffs over money and court fees they believe their southern counterparts should cough up.

Drug money, unmistakably for so long the lifeline of the nazi movement in this country, has also dried up with the arrests and further police investigations.

These arrests are most welcome if a long time coming. Vigilance must remain the key, however. The far right is full of dangerous and disturbed individuals. It has never been a danger just based upon its numerical size. ●



Convicted

There are still
several trials
pending



AARON BUTTRESS
20 months



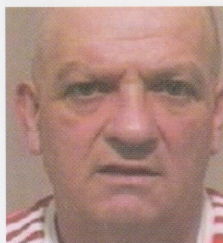
PETER ATKINSON
7 years



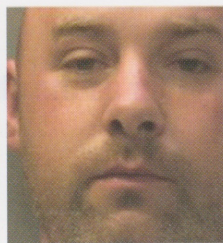
SHAUN JONES
4 years



MARK PEARSON
2 years



JOHN BOYES
20 months



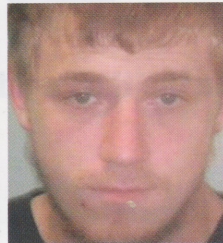
LEE FINN
10 months



KEVIN GOUGH
8 months



CALLUM LAMBE
3 years



JOSH DOWNEY
18 months



DEATON WHITBREAD
3 years



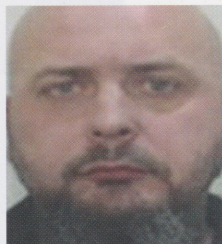
THOMAS ALLAN
22 months



DARREN SHIELD
12 months



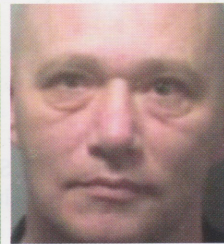
DEAN BARRETT
12 months



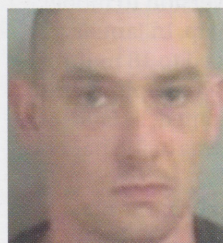
JOHN O'BRIEN
15 months



THOMAS FEREDAY
16 months



MARTIN EDWARDS
10 months



JAMES WHITBREAD
4 years



NICHOLAS CULLIN
2 years



RICHARD WILLIAMS
2 years



ROY PRICE
2 years



NATHAN WALLER
2 years



ADAM OWEN
6 months



Pegida hits

Matthew Collins on the the Pegida rats scratching and biting each other as the ship goes down

In October 2013, Stephen Lennon sensationally quit the English Defence League (EDL), the organisation he founded in 2009.

His break was a sensation to the mainstream media which had divorced themselves from following a group that they were equally unaware had been in headlong decline for at least two years before.

The Quilliam Foundation, a counter-extremism think tank, duly paraded Lennon in front of the media. Not only could he no longer control the EDL, he had been persuaded, apparently by Quilliam, to see the error of some of his ways.

He had been reckless and was apologetic, no longer wanting to be a hater leading an army of drunken racists that, he claimed, had been infiltrated by nazis.

Having only recently finished one in a long list of prison sentences (this one for entering the United States illegally), he also had a BBC documentary coming out later that month as well as looming legal troubles over alleged mortgage fraud.

There had been little clue from Lennon in the run up to the announcement that his

views had in any way changed. Just the day after the announcement, he was on BBC radio ranting about burkhas and the Quran. Cynics and sceptics raised questions.

His apparent conversion to model citizen was of little help. In January 2014, he was sentenced to 18 months for mortgage fraud. It transpired, or so Lennon has since claimed, a handsome monthly stipend he was being paid by Quilliam was halved.

Prison appeared to be far from cathartic for the former EDL leader. He has since claimed there was an Islamist plot inside prison to murder him. After six months, he was released from prison on licence. Lennon's return was marked by his social media accounts becoming more confrontational and troublesome than ever before.

The apologetic Infidel was no longer apologetic, though he kept his public appearances to a minimum.

It emerged that Lennon had been keeping company with old and new friends whilst supposedly keeping his head down. Paul Weston, the former UKIP candidate and former leader of the EDL political front, the British Freedom Party, along with another former UKIP candidate Anne Marie Waters, who leads Sharia Watch with Lennon and former EDL funder Alan Ayling (aka Alan Lake), were planning to host a



the rocks

The Pegida mob takes to the streets



series of offensive exhibitions of cartoons of the Muslim prophet Mohammed.

The scheme, which had its origins in Denmark and the Netherlands, had potential to start what its advocates hoped would be civil unrest.

When HOPE not hate exposed the conspirators and their conspiracy, even more woe was heaped on Lennon's plate and he was sent back to finish his sentence for breach of licence in July 2015.

In February 2015, a British version of the German anti-Islam group Pegida (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West) was launched in the UK. The German group was making headlines with peaceful, torch lit protests in Dresden attended by tens of thousands of people. The launch of

a British arm of the group in Newcastle drew not just Waters and Weston but also every far right group in the UK but not Lennon, however.

The main speakers were all linked to the EDL whilst BNP members stewarded a crowd of a few hundred other National Front and British Movement supporters. The launch had not even finished before factional differences arose.

The Germans were less than impressed with their organisation's name being associated with the sort of drunken British boneheads that launched it.

Despite his absence, Lennon was one of Pegida's biggest fans. Being Lennon, he preferred instead to deal with the organ grinders in Germany whilst quietly advising the hapless Matthew Pope who held the Pegida UK leader's role.

In October 2015, Lennon spoke at a Pegida's first anniversary rally in Dresden. Speaking to thousands of people, Lennon proclaimed the mounting refugee crisis was little more than Muslims "invading Europe". "Angela Merkel," he said, "seems to be handing out the birthright of German citizens like she is handing out candy to children... Our borders are being overrun. There is little or no control. A country that cannot control its borders will soon not be a country... We need one banner. Save our culture. Save our country." Ever the performer, Lennon stole Pegida UK from Pope that night.

The "cartoon conspirators" were meanwhile, not quite yet set to reunite. While in prison for a second time, Lennon broke ties with Weston who

was leading another tiny political party named Liberty GB.

That December, Lennon announced he was now taking charge of Pegida UK but would act merely as an “advisor” to the group. Leading Pegida UK would be Timothy Scott, a previously unknown and unheard of former soldier and mercenary who had, by all accounts, fought ISIS with Kurdish forces.

It appeared a stellar appointment. On paper at least, Scott was to be a disciplined, committed, experienced and sober leader for what everyone expected to be a new era for the Counter-Jihad movement in the United Kingdom.

Days after his appointment, Scott did an interview for C4 News. He had previously moderated a tiny Facebook group, the Freedom & Truth Movement, but not only could he not explain Islam, he could barely explain himself. Asked by C4 to name some of things he had against Islam, Scott (who began the interview by refusing to give his real name) mumbled: “Well all stuff. You know? Look at Iraq? Do we wait till it gets that bad here? No, it’s best to act now and prevent that happening.” The interview went rapidly further downhill from there.

The next day, Scott issued a rambling resignation statement citing left-wing bias, family concerns and “things outside my control.” Although Scott said he would stay around and remain loyal to Pegida, he quickly slipped into the nazi movement and, in January 2016, was present, looking lost and confused, during rioting by nazis in Dover. He left the UK in July, his destination and current whereabouts being unknown.

Pegida was officially launched in a dusty car park near Birmingham airport in February of this year. A silent march with Lennon, Weston and Waters at the head took place. In Lennon’s own words, like an EDL march but silent and “with different banners.” Despite his very public high hopes, fewer than two hundred people attended, a large number of those being from the media.

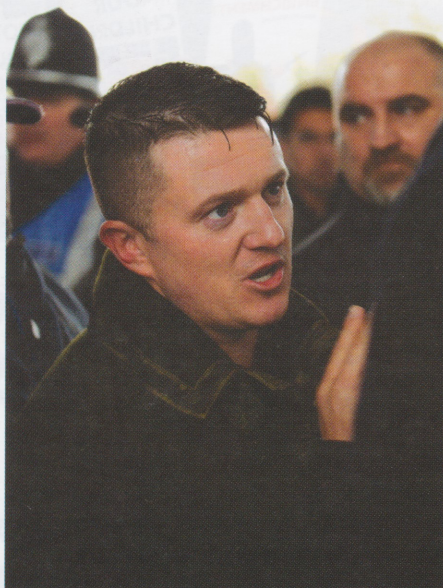
Marshalling the whole sorry episode was the then EDL leader Steve Eddowes and a security team drawn from the most violent and disciplined of the EDL’s own security mob. Moving people and speakers behind the scenes was Hel Gower, the loyal Dover housewife who has been Lennon’s PA since the time he was able to command a bigger audience. Gower hid none of her traditional disdain for Lennon’s colleagues, in particular, it seems, Anne Marie Waters.

Lennon himself also drew fire and derision from observers, particularly in the EDL, when he posed under the flag of Pakistan with Mohammed Fiaz, a Pakistani ex-Muslim.



(above) Waters (right) a spare part in the movement.

(right) Stephen Lennon keeping company with old and new friends



The “back office” of Pegida is nothing if not a little crowded and fractious. A host of hangers on, from Gower to former EDL’ers, jockey for Lennon’s attention and patronage with the likes of Liberty GB and small anti-Muslim groups that have fallen in with the English Democrats whilst Waters, described as “needy” and “desperate,” seems to straddle all groups in the company of friends she made while addressing a football hooligan get-together in Dudley last year.

The group’s second outing in April of this year was even more risibly attended. Liberty GB stayed away, even Weston. Rumours surfaced of financial difficulties and disagreements behind the scenes, plus local elections.

Weston had been to north America in March and it was rumoured on his return that he wanted to move back into politics with a pocketful of empty promises. The next two demonstrations failed to materialise and even a desperate

attempt to ignite confrontation by going to Rotherham proved problematic when May’s planned demonstration in the town was postponed due to the trains being disrupted.

Gower then opened a front on Waters behind the scenes that led to a violent response and threats from people loyal to her. When Pegida did eventually march in Rotherham in early June, Gower and Weston were both absent and, as the sparsely attended demonstration petered out, Lennon was very open that his immediate plans were simply to go to skip a football banning order and attend the European Championships in France, resplendent with a “Fuck ISIS” flag and T-shirt.

The group has no further demonstrations, marches or rallies planned until September. Lennon faces court in Bedfordshire in the same month, something he hopes will raise both his and the demonstration’s profile.

In the meantime, Waters and others like Tony Bugle of the English Democrats and MARIAS (Mothers against Sharia) appear to have been forced out. Lennon’s idleness and apparent unwillingness to pursue a perceived post-UKIP vacuum and his reluctance to share wealth and power are the main cause.

Attacks in return on Gower’s backroom role in the group have also split the group. At the end of July, Pegida announced Waters was “stepping down” from her role in Pegida and that Weston was staying, contrary to rumour. “This will of course not affect the group in anyway,” wrote Gower.

The rats still aboard Pegida UK are scratching and biting each other as the ship slowly goes down.

UKIP or NuKIP?

With Diane James elected after a sour leadership race, the prospect of a new far right party looms. David Emmett explains



Diane James leader of the UK Independence Party (UKIP) and one of four UKIP Members of the European Parliament for South East England

JUST MONTHS AGO, UKIP was enjoying the most significant victory in its history. However, rather than capitalising on the huge opportunities presented by its Referendum success and Labour's ongoing crisis, the ugly power struggle ignited by Farage's abdication has opened deep rifts that threaten to swallow the party.

The party's newly elected leader, Diane James MEP, must now unite UKIP as influential figures contemplate starting a new, populist right-wing party to redefine the post-Brexit right.

UKIP's leadership contest has brought the grudge between two factions to the fore. On one side are the more populist Faragists, including former leadership favourite Steven Woolfe, Welsh UKIP Leader Nathan Gill and UKIP's largest financial donor, Arron Banks. On the other side are the libertarians, led by MP Douglas Carswell, Welsh Assembly Member Neil Hamilton alongside Parliamentary Spokesperson Suzanne Evans and Patrick O'Flynn MEP.

The acrimony reached its peak in August when the National Executive Committee (NEC) disqualified Woolfe after he submitted his leadership application just 17 minutes late.

Woolfe, Farage and Banks held that that Woolfe's

disqualification was an anti-Farage coup and Farage subsequently labelled the NEC "among the lowest grade of people I have ever met". Farage recently launched a blistering attack on Carswell, telling Sky News that he "does nothing" for the party.

Farage's combative tweets

Meanwhile, following a dust-up with Hamilton, Welsh UKIP leader Nathan Gill MEP has quit the party's grouping in order to sit in Wales as an independent Assembly Member (AM). Gill was under enormous pressure from Hamilton to resign as an MEP to focus solely on his role as an AM. However, many believe that Hamilton's real concern was purging a close ally of Farage from the top of the party.

Even if James – an ally of Farage – succeeds in closing the chasm between the warring Faragists and libertarians, she must also assemble a platform that will justify UKIP's very existence now Brexit has been voted for.

UKIP was founded as a single-issue party, and then became a vehicle for Farage's personality. As Theresa May continues to pander to UKIP's demands around Brexit, a palpable sense of purposelessness now permeates UKIP.

If James cannot revitalise

the party with a new and dynamic platform, there is fear of a mass exodus of both donors and supporters to the Conservatives.

The problem is that while James was by far the strongest of the exceptionally weak slate of leadership candidates, she is not well known to the public and has already proven herself gaffe-prone, listing Russian leader Vladimir Putin as one of her political heroes on BBC1's *Sunday Politics* just two days after her election.

A new movement?

Before James' election, Farage became the latest voice to call for a "new, perhaps bigger, political movement" to target the "sizeable chunk" of Labour voters disenchanted with the party. Most significantly, before putting his considerable weight behind Woolfe, UKIP's sugar daddy Arron Banks had repeatedly stated his intention to pour his resources into such a movement in order to redefine the "new right" for post-Referendum Britain.

Banks has long known that UKIP is too shambolic at branch level to profit from its potential support, and, calling Woolfe's disqualification "the final straw", he could well make good his stated

desire to utilise the modern marketing techniques of his Leave.EU campaign to appeal to young voters. Free from the moderating influence of Carswell and Evans, such a movement would likely be heavily influenced by Farage and feature a harder-line populist platform.

With no snap election in view, Banks has time and space to market such a movement. So vital is the funding of Banks that if he did attempt to start a new party – probably taking Woolfe and large sections of the grassroots with him – whatever was left of UKIP could not survive as a major force in UK politics.

A healthily competitive leadership race could have seen UKIP surpass its legacy as a Farage-dominated personality cult but the prospect of his absence has plunged the party into yet more petty point scoring.

Right now, it is unsure whether Diane James can inspire the confidence needed to unite the party and elevate it into the mainstream.

Banks could make this his moment to relegate UKIP to the history books and attempt to open a new chapter – featuring many of the same old characters – in radical right-wing politics. ●

An open letter to anti-racism activists from a Muslim human rights campaigner

Anti-racism activists must ask tough questions about Islamism – and support brave Muslims who are battling it. By Sara Khan

Islamism is different to Islam – know the difference

All of us are shocked by the rise in anti-Muslim hate crime. We want to stand together against far right bigots and the so-called “Counter-Jihadist” (CJ) movement. But equally, we have got to ask difficult questions about some British Muslim groups and whether all of them are seeking to create an equal, just and fair society.

It is a place many liberals would rather not go. Many people feel awkward asking searching questions about Islamist groups and those groups are only too happy to label people “Islamophobic” for expressing legitimate concerns.

Multiculturalism had its upsides but one downside has been a blind spot with regards to the supremacism and bigotry that does exist in some sections of the Muslim activist scene.

It is precisely because Muslims are no different from the rest of society that we have our own version of the far right. A politicised and intolerant puritanical ideology born out of the struggle against colonialism in the past and present, it has gained increasing traction among some Muslims. But, let us be clear: it is a very regressive movement in terms of gender equality, LGBT rights, pluralism and democracy.

Islamism, or Salafi-Islamism as I prefer to call it, is the name of this ideology and it seeks to establish a caliphate that will be governed by a totalitarian interpretation of *Sharia* law. This is a million miles away from the kind of

society, I suspect, most HOPE not hate activists would like to live in.

Islamist groups use differing tactics with some leaning towards violence while others are non-violent. But the same principles and ideas are shared by many of them. They reject western political concepts including democracy and human rights. Many promote antisemitic views. They support the death penalty for those leaving Islam and preach intolerance towards other Muslim denominations.

Yet Islamists claim that they represent orthodox or “normative” Islam as opposed to those Muslims who resist Islamism and stand for human rights.

As I have detailed in my book *The Battle for British Islam*, over the last few decades this ideology that continues to remain unchallenged, has become very influential among young British Muslims seeking a global identity and rejecting the cultural Islam of their parents.

Through aggressive proselyting on campuses, in communities and on social media to thousands, Islamist groups have promoted wild conspiracy theories and a disproportionate victimhood and anti-Western explanation.

In some cases, they have even defended convicted terrorists, alleging that Muslims found guilty of plotting to carry out ISIS-inspired style attacks in London, had been arrested for “political reasons by a police state.” Islamists have toured the UK encouraging young Muslims to believe that out of opposition to Islam and Muslims, the UK authorities

deliberately created the English Defence League (EDL) to persecute Muslims.

The irony is of course, that the EDL was born out of the actions of Islamists themselves when Al-Muhajiroun demonstrated and threw vile abuse at the Royal Anglican Regiment as it took part in a homecoming parade in Luton in 2009.

Many liberals may ask: why should we care? If Muslims want to believe in Islamist ideology, then let them. I would agree up to a point. Anybody is free to dissent from the society we live in and to protest against it.

Where things get murkier is when British Islamists create a sense of alienation among young Muslims, promoting a West v. Islam argument and employing religious texts to legitimise their worldview.

In some instances, this has facilitated terrorist radicalisation or provided the mood music where ISIS’ propaganda then gains resonance. Ideology is significant; David Anderson QC, the independent reviewer of terrorism legislation, has stated that “ideologies are a necessary pre-condition for terrorist acts.”

The radicalisation of hundreds of Muslims in this country did not happen in a vacuum. Islamist extremism effectively led these vulnerable people to the front door of terrorism. Time and again, groups like Al-Muhajiroun (ALM) have softened up individuals who ended up with Daesh. ALM leader, Anjem Choudary, with twenty years



of preaching behind him, radicalised countless individuals, some of whom were convicted for terrorist offences or joined ISIS.

As an activist for 20 years, I find it disturbing the kind of rhetoric that comes out from some third-generation Muslims today. When girls as young as thirteen tell me they want to go live in ISIS territory and who are unaware of Britain's foreign policy or the complex geo-politics of the Middle East, it is clear they have bought into the Islamist extreme worldview.

But what I find equally disturbing is that there does not exist a strong counter-movement, made up of both Muslims and non-Muslims prepared to challenge Salafi-Islamism together for the common good.

Islamist outreach to the left

ALM was very obviously an extremist group with its provocative demonstrations and inflammatory rhetoric. Other Islamist groups, however, operate in a far more nuanced and non-violent way but still paint pictures of a Britain hostile to Muslims.

“As an activist for 20 years, I find it disturbing the kind of rhetoric that comes out from some third-generation Muslims today”

They have embraced the anti-imperialist and anti-war rhetoric of the left using the language of oppression to win new friends in the student movement, the left and the liberal media.

Their opposition to human rights and long-term objective of a caliphate is obscured as well as support for hudood capital punishments.

Instead, they project an image of being human rights activists or representative bodies of British Muslims. They talk the language of liberalism to hide their anti-liberal views. They run joint campaigns with anti-racism groups but without ever

forgetting what they are ultimately trying to achieve.

Some on the ultra-left, having lost confidence in the white working class are only too happy to regard their new Islamist friends as oppressed Muslims. The parables of victimhood are music to the ears of beleaguered “Leninists” who hope they have found a new revolutionary vehicle.

Back in the 1990s, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) – never shy when it comes to rank opportunism – spotted in Islamism a life support machine for its ailing revolutionary organisation.

In a post-Soviet world, the Islamists could provide them with new recruits if they boxed clever. As the late Chris Harman of the SWP wrote in a document called *The Prophet and the Proletariat*: “Socialists can take advantage of these contradictions to begin to make some of the radical Islamists question their allegiance to its ideas and organisations.” But the Islamists saw the SWP coming!

Once upon a time, the ultra left said it would adopt a critical and questioning attitude to Islamist views of gender equality and LGBT rights.

But now silence is the preferred option. A deafening silence that will end in tears.

Such has the relationship between parts of the ultra-left and Islamists become in our country that together they bully and intimidate human rights and anti-Islamist British Muslims, seeking to silence their voice while labelling them as 'Islamophobes.'

Feminists and LGBT activists supporting mysogyny and homophobia

Of late, we have had the incredible spectacle of Muslims believing in a reconciled [??] British identity, as well as democracy and gender equality, being abused on campuses or social media and Islamists even being cheered on by some feminists and LGBT activists. Some examples of this madness are documented with examples in *The Battle for British Islam*.

Frankly, it is the politics of *Alice in Wonderland*. The National Union of Students (NUS) has presided over the hounding of veteran anti-racism and gender equality campaigners just because Islamists deliberately misapply the "safe space" argument.

The logic – if it can be called that – runs something like this: Islamists represent normative or orthodox Islam. Therefore, those people who challenge them – including anti-Islamist Muslims – can only be "Islamophobes!" Of course, anti-Muslim hatred does exist but Islamists calculatedly conflate this with criticism of Islamist ideology in an attempt to shut down debate.

Those on the left who are not familiar with the distinction between Islam and Islamism, have found themselves falling into this well-laid trap.

You couldn't make it up. One mocking piece in the *Daily Telegraph* suggested that the NUS publish a regular "League Table of Oppression" that would decree "the precise privilege [?] of every person" on the planet.

As things stand, Islamists are ranking above the majority of Muslims in the UK who believe in a reconciled British identity, in democracy and in human rights.

Twenty or thirty years ago, the left operated on the assumption that we were building a movement and that unity was paramount which meant overcoming divisions and not allowing the establishment to divide and rule.

That seems an awful long time ago now. In the world of identity politics, Islamists can push Muslims into a political ghetto and the left, as I have painfully discovered will cheer them on.

Even when Muslim women stand up and demand their own rights, you can rely on an academic somewhere to

accuse them of "imperialist feminism".

Some feminist writers have gone as far as to suggest that Muslim women in Muslim countries standing up against patriarchy and misogyny have in fact allowed themselves to be tools to be used by the West.

These Muslim women activists are degradingly labelled as "native informants" who are "collaborating with empire." Their struggle for gender justice and dignity is denied to them because allegedly they can only ever be in the service of the West.

Muslim women don't want to be "saved" from anybody. But they do expect support from activists the world over when they are engaged in a struggle for gender equality denied to them from within their own communities.

How have we come to a situation where some Muslim women who having been denied their rights by some within their own communities, are condemned for struggling for those very rights?

I have personally faced abuse from white feminists on the left because I have challenged Muslim preachers who have advocated domestic violence, slavery or even female genital mutilation.

Rather than offering solidarity, my non-Muslim feminist colleagues have lambasted me as an "Islamophobe" despite the fact that I, unlike them, have experienced both anti-Muslim prejudice and misogynist abuse because I have taken on anti-Muslim hatred and Islamism.

Together we can oppose all ideologies – whether far right or Islamism that seek to divide us

Muslims in the UK still face discrimination in employment and the danger of hate crime on the streets is ever-present.

The fight against bigotry is by no means over. But we must also celebrate the great advances that Muslims are able to make in British society. Today, London has a Muslim mayor. There are Muslims sitting in the Houses of Parliament, council chambers, boardrooms and NGOs.

But also, right now, there is a battle for British Islam. On the one hand I see Muslims standing up and campaigning for equality, pluralism and countering Islamist extremism. Too often they are intimidated and abused.

On the other hand, there are young Muslims aspiring to leave our country for ISIS. I have witnessed teachers, unions, students and others aligning themselves with British Islamist groups and lambasting these anti-Islamist Muslim campaigners. If these alliances continue, there is little hope of defeating Islamist

extremism in the near future.

What is desperately needed is the building of an inclusive movement based on human rights, equality and an opposition to all forms of bigotry and racism. Over the years, we as a society have proudly stood and continue to stand together against traditional far right groups and ideologues that seek to divide us as a nation and propagate hate.

The time has come for us to also stand together against far right Islamist movements in our country that promote religious supremacy over and above equality.

Just as we would speak out and challenge those on the far right who say "don't be friends with Muslims" or "don't work for Muslims", we must also take to task those Islamist preachers who – as I have heard – tell young Muslims "don't be friends with non-Muslims" and "don't work for them".

I am proud to have organisations like Hope not hate support my organisation Inspire. Solidarity means everything to Muslims like me, who are on the frontline, day in day out championing human rights and countering extremism.

But what I want to know is who else is going to stand up and join us in what has become the struggle of our generation?

'An important book from a tireless campaigner'
MISHAL HUSAIN

THE BATTLE FOR BRITISH ISLAM

Reclaiming Muslim Identity from Extremism

SARA KHAN

with Tony McMahon

■ SARA KHAN is author of "The Battle for British Islam: Reclaiming Muslim Identity from Extremism" co-authored with Tony McMahon. Sara is also co-director and co-founder of Inspire, a counter-extremism and women's rights organisation.

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A summer camp for right-wing extremists

From Martin Barić in Zagreb

JULY AND AUGUST are often highly politically contentious months in Croatia because they encompass several commemorative events that divide the public, providing an opportunity for the extreme right to gain publicity and promote ethnic hatred.

An example is the small village of Srb. In late July 1941, in Srb, in the Lika region, a popular uprising took place against attempted ethnic cleansing by the Nazi-collaborationist Ustaše regime against the local, mostly ethnic Serb, population. The day of the uprising, 27 July, was commemorated as a day of the "uprising of the peoples of Lika" although it has not been an officially recognized holiday since the independence of Croatia in 1991.

This year, a marginal and extremist right-wing political party called the *Autochthonous Croatian Party of Rights* (Autohtona – Hrvatska stranka prava, A-HSP for short) set up camp at the commemoration site three weeks before it was due.

Its tent was put up under the pretence of "holding lectures about the Homeland War", but more importantly, in order to prevent what was dubbed "the Četnik (that is Serb ultranationalist) romp" from taking place on 27 July, based on the false claim that the 1941 uprising was Serb nationalist and aimed at committing genocide against Croats.

The A-HSP camp was initially permitted by the police, only for it to be dismantled on 17 July after public outrage at police failure to react to the public display of

Ustaše insignia and the veiled threats of arson made by A-HSP.

Only a day before 5 August – Victory and Homeland Thanksgiving Day and the Day of Croatian Defenders, celebrating the 1995 military Operation Storm in Croatia which liberated a substantial portion of Croatian national territory but also resulted in the displacement of a large number of Serb civilians – a peaceful protest was to be held in Zagreb, explaining the fact that civilian victims of the action were never recognised and that the glorification of the wartime action continues to be a means of promoting Croatian exceptionalism and militarism.

The Zagreb protest was banned by the police for "safety reasons". When a further protest action against the ban on the original protest was held with protesters merely holding up a nondescript black banner, the protesters were first verbally and then physically attacked by a group of pro-Ustaše Croat nationalists who called for their arrest and expulsion from the country.

Finally, on August 5, a number of hate-related incidents occurred in the city of Knin where the official celebration was taking place.

During the speeches made by various Croat dignitaries, a representative of the 1990s war veteran population made an impassioned speech, apologising to the audience for "not having completed our work in 1995, so you have to suffer through this sh*t today", referring to those who have voiced their concerns about the celebration and the uncritical glorification of Operation Storm.

Soon after the ending of the day's

official programme, a group of men in black shirts bearing the insignia of a paramilitary organisation from the war marched through the city streets, shouting the Ustaše salute and singing songs unambiguously linked with the murderous Ustaše regime.

In a separate incident soon afterwards, a group of young people were caught on camera burning a Serbian flag in public. The police interrupted neither of the two groups.

In the evening, a concert by fascist singer Marko Perković – "Thompson" – was held in Knin as part of the official programme and was broadcast on national television.

One of Thompson's most infamous songs also features the Ustaše salute, and even though it was performed in its entirety, the song was not broadcast on television.

However, a lot of Ustaše insignia and emblems were present in the audience and were prominently visible during the almost three hours long live broadcast, while the salute was heard being chanted on numerous occasions.

After the concert, police attempted to hand "Thompson" a public misdemeanour charge for using and encouraging the Ustaše salute but were initially prevented from doing so by the singer's security mob.

Overall, the Knin celebration (along with the other incidents described above) again demonstrate the unwillingness of the Croatian police to act when faced with overt hate symbols and hate speech against the Serb minority, in particular, until forced to do so by public pressure.



(Above) Croat nationalists at the Anti-Fascist monument in Srb
(Right) Attack on peace activists in Zagreb
(Main photo) Ustaše insignia in Knin and at concert by Marko Perković aka "Thompson"
Photos: Croatian News Agency



The Romani Genocide: Resistance, resilience and remembrance

By **Bernard Rorke** in Budapest

IN BUDAPEST in early August, a group of people gathered at the Holocaust memorial on the banks of the Danube in a silent and solemn commemoration of the more than half million Roma slaughtered by the Nazis and their collaborators in the *Baro Porrajmos* ("Great Devouring").

The death toll included almost 3,000 Roma men, women, and children who were cruelly put to death on the night of August 2-3, 1944 when the Germans liquidated the so-called *Zigeunerlager* ("Gypsy camp") at Auschwitz-Birkenau. The camp leadership originally decided to murder the inhabitants of the "Gypsy compound" in May 1944.

Some 50-60 members of a special SS unit sealed off the compound and ordered the Roma out. Forewarned, the Roma armed themselves with iron bars, pipes, shovels, and any other improvised weapons to hand and refused to move.

In the face of resistance, the SS withdrew and called off their operation. Three thousand Roma capable of work were then transferred to other camps. Some two months later, however, the SS liquidated the remaining 2,898. Most of the victims were ill, elderly men, women, and children. A handful of children who had hidden during the operation were soon after captured and killed.

It was also seven years ago to the day since Maria Balogh was murdered in her bed, and her 13-year-old daughter seriously wounded, in a gun attack by nazis in the Hungarian village of Kisléta in 2009.

Flowers were also laid and candles lit at the memorial to honour the memory of the other men, women, and children murdered by nazis in the wave of gun and bomb attacks that targeted Roma settlements in Hungary in 2008-2009.

Those who gathered by the Danube were also reminded of the chaotic and brutal ferocity of the persecution carried out by the fascist Arrow Cross and Hungarian Gendarmerie and reminded of the fate of Roma who perished in transit camps, in forced labour brigades

and in local massacres.

Much of this detail would have been lost without the painstaking research carried out by Janos Bársony and Ágnes Daróczi to ensure the dead do not remain unnamed and unremembered.

Atrocities such as the massacre in the cemetery in Doboz, a village in south east Hungary, in 1944, were painfully brought to light only in the oral testimony of survivors such as Karoly Komaromi who lost his grandparents, his father and his 14-year-old sister Zsuzsanna. He recalled that as news of the Russian advance created alarm, gendarmes marched their Romani captives on foot from the town of Kőtegyán towards the village of Doboz: "The gendarmes, they were taking them along main-street in pouring rain, so this gendarme says to my father ... you will die here, fuck you! ... At dawn they took them to the cemetery in Doboz and the gendarmes were already there waiting and blew them apart with a machine gun and hand grenades. As I heard from the cemetery warden's wife, one child was trying to escape but couldn't because the gendarmes noticed him. When they finished them off, they went down to the Gypsies of Doboz. They had them dig graves and put the bodies in there..."

These ghastly testimonies and records gathered by dedicated scholars like Bársony and Daróczi have proven vital to preservation of the memory of what unfolded in those dark times in the face of indifference, wilful amnesia and outright denial

In an obscene affront to survivors of the genocide, compensation claims were denied to Roma and Sinti in Germany in the 1950s on the grounds that "Gypsies were persecuted under the National Socialist regime *not* for any racial reason, but because of an asocial and criminal record."

This appalling verdict came to typify post-war thinking about the mass-murder of Romani people and facilitated academic neglect and public amnesia. It was as if Romani lives and deaths

mattered less, full stop.

It is chilling that we hear similar sentiments today. We are asked to believe that Roma are not discriminated against because of their ethnicity, but because they pose a threat to "public order", because they are criminally inclined, and refuse to assimilate and abide by social norms.

Political leaders who indulge in anti-Roma racist rhetoric for short-term political gain need to be reminded that they not only dishonour the memory of the dead, but also wilfully endanger the living.

Đorđe Jovanović, President of the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC), recalled his own family's tragedy in which his great-grandfather and his firstborn son were seized by the Nazis and put into two different trucks: "My great-grandfather was taken to Germany and kept in a forced labour concentration camp. He survived the war and returned home only to learn that his eldest son was murdered in another concentration camp in Croatia."

Speaking about the rise of anti-Roma politics in 21st Century Europe, he said, "We at the ERRC are fighting every day for the rights of Roma. We are litigating and advocating against forced evictions, sterilisation, school segregation, anti-Roma violence and discrimination right across the continent, so that the darkest moments of European history never, ever, happen again."

Sixty years ago, the late Primo Levi warned: "If we fail to bear witness, in a not too distant future we could well see the deeds of Nazi bestiality relegated by their very enormity to the status of legend. It is vital therefore to speak out."

As we speak out about the Romani genocide and commemorate the dead, it is also fitting to pay tribute to the resistance and the resilience of all who survived, and stand in solidarity with the living...to stand with our fellow Romani citizens against the fascists and racists who would deny them equality, dignity and the right to a life without fear. ●

German fascist right in trouble?

By Jens Breuer for *Der Rechte Rand*

IN 2004, the nazi National Democratic Party (NPD) won several seats in the regional parliament of Saxony, ending a thirty years' absence from Germany's regional parliaments.

This surprising success by the NPD made the party the centre of gravity on the German far right and its membership grew significantly to more than 7,000.

The much-weakened German People's Union (DVU) later merged with the NPD in 2011, and the far right Republicans split on the question of whether they should also fuse with it.

With the parliamentary success, the party became an employer for various full-time right-wing intellectuals and activists. Twelve years on, however, the situation looks quite different: the NPD lost its parliamentary seats in Saxony two years ago and, instead, the right-wing populist Alternative for Germany (AfD) entered the same parliament in 2014.

The same fate befell the NPD in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania in early September. While it has lost all of its parliamentary seats at a regional level after eight years of hate speech, the AfD has prospered, most recently in Berlin, and now has 145 seats in ten regional legislative bodies.

All that remains for the NPD now is Udo Voigt as an MEP. In addition, owing to the lack of success, internal quarrels have broken out and several branches of the NPD are in very bad condition. The NPD is no position to stand up to the AfD which has established itself in the context of the euro crisis and had its big political breakthrough in 2015 when Germany experienced the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees.

The NPD's reputation as a nazi and violent

organisation discourages many people from voting for it. The AfD's racism, however, does not keep voters away because it is represented by politicians who seem to be respectable and is assessed as an expression of a common sense.

The permanent mobilisation of PEGIDA in Dresden has contributed to the rise of the new party speaking out in a racist way that voters can accept.

The NPD has also been confronted with new rivals to its right. One party, Die Rechte (The Right) was founded in May 2012 by Christian Worch, a leading nazi activist since the late 1970s. With its membership currently standing at 650, it is still growing.

The party has regional branches in eleven federal states so far with the most active in North Rhine-Westphalia, especially in its stronghold in the Dortmund area where several nazis, formerly organised in local *Freie Kameradschaften*, form the core of activists.

On 4 June, Dortmund was the scene of the annual nazi "Day of German Future" march. While in recent years, only some hundred followers could be mobilised to the event that is held at a different location each year, in Dortmund more than a thousand – overwhelmingly male, overwhelmingly young – nazis showed up.

Another outfit, Der III. Weg (Third Way) was founded by former NPD activists and by members of the nazi Freies Netz Süd (FNS) in September 2013. Its membership stands at 300, mainly active in Brandenburg, Saxony, Bavaria and the Rhineland-Palatinate.

The party hit national headlines in

2015 when it published a campaign manual titled "No refugee centre in my neighbourhood! How do I obstruct or prevent the establishment of an asylum home in my neighbourhood?"

In the following period, several local groups, aiming to stop accommodation of refugees in their village, town or region, made obvious use of the party's advice – regardless of its nazi character.

Also, anti-refugee rallies and demonstrations organised by NPD, Die Rechte and Der III. Weg found more support than before although these parties were not able to profit directly by recruiting members in great numbers.

In some places they can boast of having contributed to the radicalisation of sections of the public. The Federal Criminal Police Office registered some 1,000 attacks on refugee homes in 2015. Recent figures for 2016 suggest this number will be topped this year.

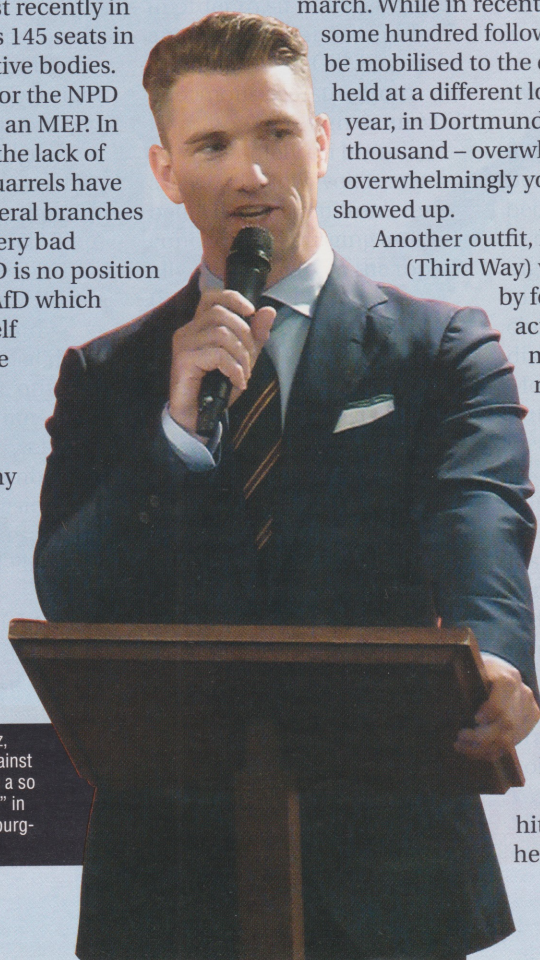
The nazi subcultural scene is still large. Currently, the Identity Movement, which mainly belongs to the New Right is getting a lot of media coverage. Its provocative and well-organised propaganda actions foster attention although there are only 200 to 300 members nationwide so far.

More traditional nazi subculture gathers around some 170 active hate music bands and more than 30 songwriters who publish around 100 CD albums every year. Around 100 concerts take place annually, most organised clandestinely, as well as singer-songwriter evenings of which there were also about a hundred in 2015.

Future development of the far right in Germany will undoubtedly be influenced by the outcome of the slow-moving state attempt to ban the NPD. The decision of the Constitutional Court is expected in the autumn. If the party is banned, the far right will lose further infrastructure. In the long run, however, parties like Der III. Weg und Die Rechte would benefit from it.

Looking at the regions in which the right-wing populists have found solid ground in recent years, the continuing success of the AfD – and the NPD being outlawed – might contribute to a loss of importance for the relatively small and fragmented far right.

NPD chairman, Frank Franz, speaking about the trial against NPD in Karlsruhe during a so called "Tag der offenen Tür" in the parliament of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern this June.



Refugees We A Response To The



For more information on the Solidarity with Refugees march visit swruk.org/refugees-welcome-here-2016

Welcome Here: The Children Of Syria

By **Ros Ereira** a documentary-maker who set up the Solidarity with Refugees demonstration in London in September 2015

A year ago, the image of the body of a little boy called Alan Kurdi, washed up on a tourist beach near Bodrum in Turkey, sparked horror and profound distress worldwide.

Alan and his family had been fleeing war in Syria and were seeking sanctuary and the chance to build new lives in Europe.

Today, many of us have seen footage of another small boy from Syria, Omran Dagneesh, who was pulled from the rubble of his home following an airstrike. He was placed in an ambulance alone while rescue workers from the White Helmets went back for his family. Omran was in such deep shock that he sat in complete silence while wiping blood from his face.

Last year, the day before the picture of Alan Kurdi was taken, I posted an event on Facebook inviting people to join a march in London to urge the UK government to do more to welcome refugees. When the image of Alan appeared in the papers, the event went viral and, 11 days later, around 100,000 people marched to Parliament Square behind a banner reading "Refugees Welcome Here".

In the week of that demonstration, the government agreed to resettle 20,000 Syrian refugees by 2020. It was far from enough, but it was an encouraging

sign that policy can change in response to public outrage.

Why it is that some images seem to break through and are taken up by our press, are seen by millions and become symbolic is not

and need to be brought to safety, safely.

Millions are still stuck in wretched refugee camps in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan. On our own doorstep, the running sore of Calais shames

number of initiatives one can support to get aid to refugees. But, as well as doing our own bit, we need to convince our government to do more, much more. So how can we do that?

On 19 and 20 September, world leaders will meet at two crucial summits in New York to discuss ways to approach the crisis.

Just a couple of days before, on 17 September, there will be another march in London which, hopefully, will send a powerful message to PM Theresa May. This will be her first chance to speak as prime minister at a global summit and to show the world what sort of country the post-Brexit UK will be. We want her to go to New York and demonstrate in her words and deeds that UK is open, inclusive, and welcoming, that we step up to our responsibilities, that we do not let children like Omran suffer even more trauma and that we can be the good guys.

What we as a country do now will define us to our own children. Either we will appear to them as honourable examples of what is best or as shameful.

We cannot end this terrible suffering but when our own children grow up, they should be able to look back at what we tried to do with respect and not with shame. ●

“*Surely we can do better than this? There are a large number of initiatives one can support to get aid to refugees. But, as well as doing our own bit, we need to convince our government to do more, much more.*”

always clear, but I know that when I look at these pictures my heart breaks and it is all too easy to imagine that any of these children could be my own small daughter. It is important to remember that for every Alan and Omran there are tens of thousands of children who are suffering and dying, away from the cameras.

In the year since Alan Kurdi's death, the conflict in Syria has actually worsened. Of course, to resolve the situation, there need to be solutions in Syria. There need to be greater efforts for a ceasefire and for a broader settlement of the conflict. This will not happen overnight, and, meanwhile, people need urgent help

us all. Greece is overwhelmed, with many sleeping on pavements, or in overcrowded camps. Malnourishment is normal, and traumatised children are selling their bodies on the street to get money to survive...here in rich Europe, right now.

The Greek people, despite their own appalling economic situation, have responded with extraordinary generosity. But while the rest of Europe drags its feet, the system simply cannot cope with processing so many claims and families remain separated and people remain stuck in limbo unable to work, to study, to make a home, or to build a future.

Surely we can do better than this? There are a large

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